DECEMBER 31, 1983 • $1.50

DEC 1 9 1983

What to do next in Nicaragua, The Editors

AMERICA'S ZIONIST PROBLEM, BY DAVID LANDES • CAN REAGAN BE BEATEN? BY MORTON KONDRACKE

THE NEW REPUBLIC

AMBASSADOR COLLEGE LIBRARY
DISPLAY COPY

The Biggest Spender of Them All

Reagan's red ink and the Democrats' solution

Daniel Patrick Moynihan

Bruce Babbitt

Michael Kinsley

043 53
UCY 0604
AAMBAA3OOWGRIO 48 NP FEB84
AMBASSADOR COLLEGE LIB
300 W GREEN ST
PASADENA CA 91123
NEWSPAPER

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CORRESPONDENCE

KENNEDY'S WAR

To the editors:

The Kennedy myth lives on in THE NEW REPUBLIC ("JFK Plus 20," November 21). Kennedy's record on Vietnam continues to be distorted. Arthur Schlesinger Jr. writes that in September 1963, Kennedy said of the people of South Vietnam, "It is their war. They are the ones to win it or lose it."

But Kennedy told Walter Cronkite on September 2, 1963, "All we can do is help, and we are making it very clear. But I don't agree with those who say we should withdraw. That would be a great mistake." He said on NBC's Huntley-Brinkley show on September 9, "I think we should stay. We should use our influence in as effective a way as we can, but we should not withdraw." He said in his September 12 news conference, "What helps to win the war, we support; what interferes with the war effort, we oppose . . . we are not there to see a war lost." The undelivered speech Kennedy was to make on the day he was killed asserted, "Our assistance to these nations can be painful, risky, and costly, as is true in Southeast Asia today. . . . Reducing our efforts to train, equip, and assist their armies can only encourage communist penetration and require in time the increased overseas deployment of American combat forces."

Communist penetration of course continued, and it was only logical that L.B.J. would follow J.F.K.'s appraisal: "the increased overseas deployment of American combat forces." That was J.F.K.'s true legacy and it bore fruit in the horror of Vietnam. Perhaps one day the myth will be replaced by reality.

NICK MACDONALD
New York, New York

MONDALE'S ENERGIES

To the editors:

TRB's "On the Fritz" (TNR, November 21) states that Walter Mondale was "paid . . . to participate in one of the largest business lobbying campaigns seen until that time . . . on behalf of Exxon, Arco, and Sohio, which wanted a special rule essentially guaranteeing the profitability of a gas pipeline project by allowing them to pass the cost on to consumers long before they delivered any gas."

These assertions, which form the primary basis for the column, are inaccurate on several accounts. First, Mr. Mondale has never lobbied on behalf of Exxon, Arco, Sohio, or anyone else on any legislation. Second, while he has been a longtime supporter of the Alaskan gas pipeline, and while he was retained by the Northwest Energy Corporation to consult on trade and other issues, he has not been a lobbyist, did not lobby for the company, and specifically did not lobby for passage of the waiver package TRB referred to. Finally, Mr. Mondale has opposed any pre-billing provisions in the pipeline project.

Editorial judgments are a legitimate part of the political process. However, when they are based on inaccurate accounts of the facts, those judgments do a disservice to everyone, especially TNR readers.

MICHAEL S. BERMAN
Mondale for President, Inc.
Washington, D.C.

TRB replies:

This is all so much mist. The Northwest Energy Corporation, a consortium including these three oil companies, did not hire Mondale in 1981 for his expertise in geology. He was hired to help them win passage of the pipeline financing bill. He was hired for his name and his connections. There was no need for Mondale to "lobby" in the clinical sense of buttonholing legislators in order for his association with the consortium to have its intended effect. If he opposed the consumer rip-off aspects of the bill he was publicly associated with, he certainly did not say so at the time, when it would have done some good.

BOO FOR LEW

To the editors:

Sidney Blumenthal's article ("Let Lehrman Be Reagan," TNR, December 5) treats Lewis Lehrman as if he were universally liked and had enough charisma to put John Kennedy to shame. All this is patently false. Even those politically related to Mr. Lehrman are often put off by his obnoxious manner and insensitivity to others. Also Mr. Blumenthal describes Mr. Lehrman as someone with a "genuine interest in ideas." If Mr. Lehrman were so interested in ideas, he would have a few more of them, and a few of them would be new. Rather, Mr. Lehrman is an opportunist with a lot of money who has bought himself a little respectability by way of a think tank bearing his own name.

JAMES K. MCDERMOTT JR.
New Haven, Connecticut

THE DATA AFTER

To the editors:

I bridled at Paul Attanasio's dismissal of *The Day After* ("Big Bang, Little Box," TNR, December 5) as a stock Hollywood product. Whatever it may have lacked in dramatic quality, *The Day After* was an accurate representation of what scientists know will happen in the event of a large-scale nuclear attack: tremendous death and destruction from the initial blast and heat, an electromagnetic pulse that will knock out all communication, and finally, an unprecedented and incalculable number of deaths from radioactive fallout and from infection for weeks and months afterward. Most Americans, either through ignorance or denial, are unaware of the destructive scope of nuclear weapons.

What are politicians responsive to? Reason? Cogent arguments in THE NEW REPUBLIC? Scientific studies? Hardly. ABC is to be commended for bringing to public consciousness, through the only medium that reliably reaches the majority of the American people, the horrors that beckon. It is my hope, with faith in our democracy, that *The Day After* will contribute to the eclipse of the mindless militarism of the current Administration.

MATTHEW MAJESKE
Ann Arbor, Michigan

THE END OF HER TETHER

To the editors:

I very much appreciate your pleasant defense of me ("Notebook," TNR, December 5) against the insult by "Aristides" in the current *American Scholar*. I would like to add a few brief remarks on this misuse of the *Scholar*, a publication of the Phi Beta Kappa Association, for the political purposes of its editor, Joseph Epstein.

continued on page 40

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Robert Coles on INTELLECTUALS

For many years, as I have worked, trying to understand how all sorts of families make do, often against considerable odds, I have written articles and books for interested fellow citizens. Soon enough, I have received the expected responses. But on one score I confess to perplexity, even alarm — an absence, almost total, of reaction when it comes to an entire side of my work. I refer to the descriptions I've rendered of the religious thoughts and feelings of the children and adults I've come to know.

All I need do, it seems, is come up with a social conclusion, make a psychological generalization, attempt a literary analysis, try portraying a certain kind of personal or regional life, and there are thoughtful (appreciatively or reprovingly so) correspondents willing to share their evaluations publicly. But when I have tried to describe how, say, an old Spanish-speaking woman from northern New Mexico, or a Southern black child, or an Appalachian white child, or a small-town working-class man happen to feel about Jesus and His words and deeds, then the result is either the silence already mentioned, or rarely, a puzzled, frustrated truculence: "I don't see why you get yourself into all that religious talk! If you're trying to prove that people are superstitious, or need a crutch, then a page is enough, not a chapter or half a book!"

In my own case, the attention given religious faith is held even more suspect because I'm a psychiatrist — and so, presumably, "educated" and "perceptive" enough (so I was told in another friendly letter!) to "know better"! I should be what an intellectual ought to be — someone who analyzes how others think and feel, who gives reasons for one or another moment of history. The civil rights struggle, for instance: I ought have kept my mind on the various "variables" that prompted it.

Meanwhile, there is this young man from Birmingham, Alabama, speaking in 1965: "I don't know why I said no to segregation. I'm just another white Southerner, and I wasn't brought up to love integration! But I was brought up to love Jesus Christ, and when I saw the police of this city use dogs on people, I asked myself what Jesus would have done — and that's all I know about how I came to be here, on the firing line!"

Intellectuals also need to document how people's beliefs prompt them to live their lives. And I fear that when I started doing that I learned something about myself and my kind — how arrogant and self-centered we risk becoming: interested in our own heady assertions, and anxious to be the spokespersons for all those others, who don't write and teach and come up with new ideas, but who rather, try to go from one day to the next, and who yes, in large numbers indeed, keep calling on Jesus, not the intellectuals, for guidance. —from the June 1982 **NEW OXFORD REVIEW**.

If you are interested in exploring the beliefs behind the "data" — in probing the deeper religious feelings embedded in our lives, however much we try to ignore them — if you want to *understand* what moves a Martin Luther King Jr., a Lech Walesa, an Archbishop Romero, a Mother Teresa, a Dietrich Bonhoeffer, a Polish Pope, a Simone Weil, a Dorothy Day, a George Orwell, then you're ready to look into the **NEW OXFORD REVIEW**. We are spearheading the renewed interest among today's intellectuals in what Daniel Bell terms "the sacred." Robert Coles writes a regular column called "Harvard Diary," and like him, our writers — Peter L. Berger, J.M. Cameron, Erazim Kohák, Juli Loesch, Dale Vree, and others — express themselves with clarity, verve, style, and "heart." Published monthly, we have been praised by *Newsweek* for being "thoughtful," and the *Library Journal* predicts we will "doubtless command increasing attention."

(Please allow 2 to 8 weeks for delivery of first issue.)

SPECIAL DISCOUNT RATES FOR FIRST-TIME SUBSCRIBERS

- ☐ One-year subscription . . . $9 (regularly $14)
- ☐ One-year student or retired person's sub . . . $7 (regularly $12)
- ☐ Three-year subscription . . . $19 (regularly $36)
- ☐ One-year Canadian or foreign subscription . . . $11 (regularly $17) Payment must be drawn in U.S. Funds
- ☐ Sample copy . . . $3.50

NAME (Please print or type) _____

STREET ADDRESS _____

CITY STATE ZIP CODE _____

Make check payable to NEW OXFORD REVIEW and mail to:

NEW OXFORD REVIEW
Room 51-B
1069 Kains Ave.
Berkeley, CA 94706

PAYMENT MUST ACCOMPANY ORDER

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

TRB®

FROM WASHINGTON

AT THE POWER HOUSE

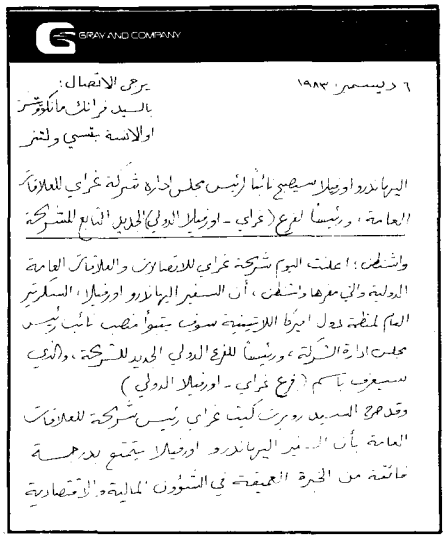
Last week's announcement that Alejandro Orfila is resigning as secretary general of the Organization of American States to join the firm of Gray & Company is yet another watershed in the astonishing evolution of Washington's influence-peddling industry.

Robert Keith Gray, a longtime public relations heavyweight and man-about-Washington, founded his own company after co-chairing the festivities surrounding President Reagan's inauguration in 1981. Less than three years later, it is already the largest lobbying firm in Washington. Gray's firm has broken new ground in the brazenness with which it presents itself as selling, not legal services or even public relations, but connections pure and simple. And Gray, in the role of Mephistopheles, has made a dazzling series of conquests.

The induction of former innocents into the coven at "the Power House," Gray & Company's Georgetown headquarters, began with House Speaker Tip O'Neill's top aide, Gary Hymel, who joined soon after the firm started. It culminated, shortly before Orfila signed on, with Frank Mankiewicz, long ago George McGovern's Presidential campaign manager and more recently head of National Public Radio.

Alejandro Orfila's arrival at the Power House isn't the definitive proof Washington has been waiting for that there's no one who can't be bought by Robert Keith Gray. After all, we're not talking about Ralph Nader. A 1982 profile in *The Washington Post* "Style" section reported a widespread view about Orfila "that the man most known in Washington for throwing flashy parties is at best a wheeler-dealer public relations specialist." This seems to suggest that he's found his true home. And indeed Orfila and Gray, as birds of a feather, are old chums. Just a few days after Gray's firm opened its doors, Orfila gave a large and well-publicized party in Gray's honor at the O.A.S. headquarters. Why? Orfila told a *Post* reporter, "He knows everyone in Washington. He's introduced me to a lot of people. He's helped open a lot of doors."

So Orfila's is probably not the purest soul Gray has ever reeled in. But his joining Gray & Company (where he will head the International Division and "initiate a commercial diplomatic service for multinational corporations," according to a press release issued in seven languages) is remarkable in two other ways.


GRAY AND COMPANY

٦ ديسمبر ١٩٨٣

يرجى الاتصال:
بالسيد فرانك مانكويتز
او الانسة بتسي ولتنر

اليرباندرو اورفيلا سيصبح غدا رئيس مجلس ادارة شركة غراي للعلاقات العامة، ورئيسا لفرع (غراي - اورفيلا الدولي) التابع للشركة

واشنطن: اعلنت اليوم شركة غراي للاتصالات والعلاقات العامة الدولية والتي مقرها واشنطن، أن السفير اليرباندرو اورفيلا، السكرتير العام لمنظمة دول امريكا اللاتينية سوف يتقلد منصب نائب رئيس مجلس ادارة الشركة، ورئيسا للفرع الدولي الجديد للشركة، والذي سيعرف باسم (فرع غراي - اورفيلا الدولي)

وقد صرح السيد روبرت كيث غراي رئيس شركة للعلاقات العامة بأن السفير اليرباندرو اورفيلا يتمتع بدرجة عالية من الخبرة العميقة في الشؤون المالية والاقتصادية

First, as head of the Organization of American States, Orfila must be the most eminent, if not the most distinguished, personage ever to go into the connections biz full time in Washington. When necessary, Orfila has styled himself (not very convincingly) as the official voice of the third world in America's capital. According to the press release (I quote from the English-language version), "Secretary General Orfila has been decorated by the governments of France, Germany, Italy, Spain, the Holy See, Belgium, the Netherlands, Japan, Thailand, Greece, the Dominican Republic and Venezuela," and is a "[r]ecipient of honorary degrees from leading universities." Only last year, after the Falklands war, Orfila was being touted, at least in Washington, for president of Argentina, his native land, which he visits occasionally.

(Svetlana, *The Washington Post*'s astrologist, took the occasion to check Orfila's charts and predicted "big changes in his life . . . a change in his career that is sudden and unexpected. . . ." According to the stars, Orfila is "an energetic man who thrives on overcoming obstacles and challenges," so perceptive "that it borders on psychic ability." Also "gentle, open, affable, accessible," and "both compassionate and practical," and so on. Tragically in retrospect, Svetlana concluded that these qualities would make Orfila a good president of Argentina. Such a waste, such a waste.)

But even his eminence doesn't make Orfila unique in choosing to pursue this new career. Prominent United States Senators with far more real power than the secretary general of the O.A.S. have given it up and cashed in, and others are planning to do so. Gerald Ford's career since 1977 could be summarized as "The Selling of the Ex-President." What's really amazing about Orfila's turn to influence peddling—what makes it a significant development in the history of the subject—is that he's *already rich*. Always has been. According to that *Post* profile, Orfila owns a two hundred-acre farm in horsey Middleburg, Virginia, and has "substantial real estate holdings here and abroad and a separate office on Connecticut Avenue with a manager to handle his investments."

What usually drives good people into the world's second-oldest profession is a yearning for fleshly pleasures far more modest than the ones Orfila already enjoys. After living on government salaries, surrounded by people who make a lot more, they long for a taste of affluence. But pecuniary motives can't be uppermost for Alejandro Orfila. If he wanted to, he could be a prominent Washington V.I.P. and party-giver for the rest of his life and never work again.

When somebody as obviously status-conscious as Alejandro Orfila goes to work for Gray & Company, when he could just as easily do nothing at all, it means that being an influence peddler for hire is no longer merely respectable. It has become positively prestigious. My son the lobbyist. You know, Alejandro, your father and I were really worried for a while. It looked as if you were going to waste your life as head of an international organization dedicated to preserving peace and alleviating poverty. But at last you're doing something your parents can be proud of. Thank goodness for friends like Bob Gray.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE NEW REPUBLIC

FOUNDED 1914 — *A Weekly Journal of Opinion* — ISSUE 3,598

WASHINGTON, D.C. — DECEMBER 31, 1983

Editor-in-Chief and President
MARTIN PERETZ

Editor
HENDRIK HERTZBERG

Literary Editor
LEON WIESELTIER

Executive Editor
MORTON M. KONDRACKE

Senior Editors
ANN HULBERT, MICHAEL E. KINSLEY, CHARLES KRAUTHAMMER

Managing Editor
DOROTHY WICKENDEN

Associate Editor
JEFFERSON M. MORLEY

Films STANLEY KAUFFMANN — *Theater* ROBERT BRUSTEIN

Poetry Editor
ROBERT PINSKY

Contributing Editors
ABRAHAM BRUMBERG, ROBERT COLES, HENRY FAIRLIE, JOSEPH FEATHERSTONE, PAUL FUSSELL, JOHN KEEGAN, BOB KUTTNER, R.W.B. LEWIS, NATHAN LEWIN, MARK CRISPIN MILLER, JOYCE CAROL OATES, WILLIAM J. QUIRK, ROBERT B. REICH, PAUL ROBINSON, MAGGIE SCARF, RONALD STEEL, RICHARD L. STROUT, ANNE TYLER, NICHOLAS VON HOFFMAN, MICHAEL WALZER, C. VANN WOODWARD

National Political Correspondent
SIDNEY BLUMENTHAL

Assistant to the Editors
LAURA E. OBOLENSKY

Production Manager
LORI STARRS

Assistant Production Manager
MARGERY MERTINS

Production Associate
PATRICIA A. HOPPER

Production Assistant
VICKY L. BRANDENBURG

Reporter-Researchers
KATHLEEN KEARNS, CHUCK LANE, JONATHAN ROSENBLUM

Publisher
JAMES K. GLASSMAN

Associate Publisher
REED PHILLIPS

Controller
J. KRISTINE KLASMAN

Advertising Manager
JOAN M. STAPLETON

Executive Assistant to the Publisher
SUSAN A. BUFFETT

Circulation Manager
DUNCAN J. EVERED

Circulation Fulfillment Manager
WINTER THOMASON

Assistant to the Controller
LIVIA ARNAIZ

Accounting Assistant
PATRICIA A. KELLEY

Assistant Advertising Manager
HILARY KANTER

Leadership Network Advertising
ROBERT F. SENNOTT JR.

Back Issues and Reception
CATHI E. STALLINGS

2 **CORRESPONDENCE** ..... On Kennedy's record, 'The Day After,' &c.

4 **TRB FROM WASHINGTON** ..... AT THE POWER HOUSE
Only the well connected need apply.

7 **THE EDITORS** ..... TWO TRACKS IN THE WILDERNESS
Good intentions are not enough in Nicaragua, or in El Salvador. If we're ever going to see democracy, we have to keep up the pressure.
NOTEBOOK

10 **MORTON KONDRACKE** ..... WHITE HOUSE WATCH: RUNNING REAGAN
He is in superb form for the election, but the infighting among his top aides continues.

12 **DOAN VAN TOAI & DAVID CHANOFF** ..... TERMS OF ENSLAVEMENT?
Dissident Vietnamese write home from Siberia with disturbing reports about forced labor camps.

15 **MICHAEL KINSLEY** ..... LIBERALS AND DEFICITS
Reagan-bashing is fun, but there is a trap.

18 **DANIEL PATRICK MOYNIHAN** ... REAGAN'S BANKRUPT BUDGET
The Administration's approach to the budget is desperately flawed. You can't cut waste where there is none, or increase revenues by slashing taxes. Bankruptcy looms. What is to be done?

21 **BRUCE BABBITT** ..... BUDGET GRIDLOCK
Reagan promises more for the rich. Traditional liberals promise more for everybody. But it's the needy, not the greedy, who deserve government aid.

24 **STANLEY KAUFFMANN** ..... ON FILMS: REMAKE AND REMINDER
Mel Brooks's resurrection of *To Be or Not to Be* fails. Lotte Eisner's memory and influence live.

25 **MARY-LOU WEISMAN** ..... NEIMAN-MARCUS, THE MOVIE
Frederick Wiseman's camera tours the store of stores in a documentary film on public TV.

26 **DAVID S. LANDES** ..... NEW ZION, OLD ZION
Israel in the Mind of America by Peter Grose

32 **ANNE TYLER** ..... MOTHERS AND MYSTERIES
At the Bottom of the River by Jamaica Kincaid

33 **SIDNEY BLUMENTHAL** ..... DR. PANGLOSS FOR PRESIDENT
Diary of a Dark Horse: The 1980 Anderson Presidential Campaign by Mark Bisnow

34 **REGINALD GIBBONS** ..... POEM *Eating*

36 **MICHAEL ULLMAN** ..... PASSIONS OF A MAN
Mingus: A Critical Biography by Brian Priestley

38 **DENNIS WRONG** ..... WAYS OF RULING
The Anatomy of Power by John Kenneth Galbraith

42 **BERLIN DIARIST** ..... STEINSTÜCKEN

COVER by Alex Lewis for THE NEW REPUBLIC, photographed by Bob Grove. Articles begin on page 15.

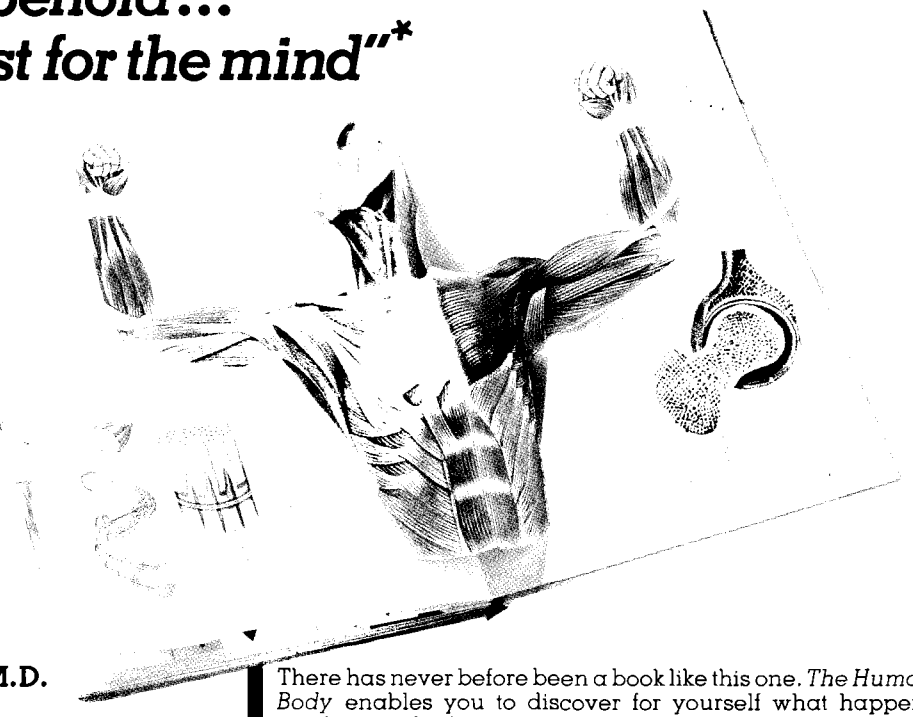
THE NEW REPUBLIC, Volume 189, Number 27, Issue 3,598, December 31, 1983. (Printed on December 14, 1983.) Published weekly (except for combined issues dated January 10 & 17, July 18 & 25, August 15 & 22, and September 19 & 26) at 1220 19th Street, NW, Washington, DC 20036. Telephone (202) 331-7494. Advertising (202) 331-9787. Leadership Network advertising (212) 684-5500. Yearly subscriptions, $45; foreign, $67; Canada, $55. Back issues, $2.00 (includes postage & handling).

©1983 by The New Republic, Inc.

(ISSN 0028-6583). Second-class postage paid at Washington, DC. Indexed in Readers' Guide and Media Review Digest. Available on microfilm from University Microfilms International, 300 N. Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, MI 48106. Member of the Audit Bureau of Circulations. Unsolicited manuscripts cannot be returned unless accompanied by a stamped, self-addressed envelope. **Subscribers:** Please send all remittances, changes of address, and subscriptions inquiries to **Subscription Service Dept., The New Republic, P.O. Box 955, Farmingdale, NY 11737-0001.** For subscription problems call **800-645-9559** (In N.Y. state 800-732-9119).

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

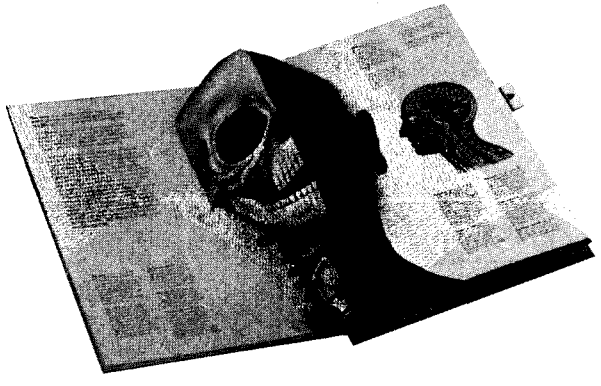
*"Wonderful to behold... A movable feast for the mind"**

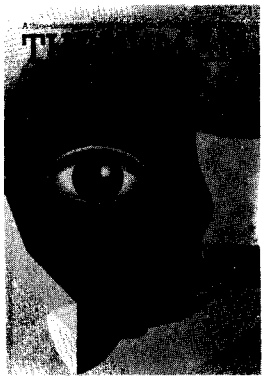


THE HUMAN BODY

by Jonathan Miller, M.D.
author of *The Body in Question*

With unique, three dimensional movable illustrations showing the workings of the human body
Designed by David Pelham





8¼ x 11¾"
Six full-color multilayered pop-ups with movable parts and nine additional illustrations

Order your books today.

There has never before been a book like this one. *The Human Body* enables you to discover for yourself what happens inside your body.

Splendid full-color pop-up illustrations show in amazingly complete detail the intricacies and wonders of the human body. From the skeleton outward, the body is depicted in a series of moving parts and overlapping forms that show how the body works and its internal structures interrelate.

Each model is described with remarkable clarity and precision by Dr. Jonathan Miller, who is our guide on this anatomical journey.

"OPEN THE COVER and a sophisticated color construction of a human head, half skull, half facial muscles, springs out from the centerfold, slowly closing wide-open jaws. The reader cannot resist. . . . He turns the page and a three-dimensional model of the interior of an ear pops up; by pulling a tab at the corner of the page, he opens the snail-shaped cochlea, baring its intricate mechanism. Another page, another tab, and the valves of a cutaway model of the heart open and close while the muscular walls seemingly come alive. This working anatomy lesson covers its subject admirably, inward and outward. As the reader—the book should appeal to teen-agers as well as adults—operates the brilliantly conceived scale models, he begins to understand how we see, hear, breathe, even think; how muscles contract, how red blood cells speed oxygen around the blood stream; how cartilage keeps the bones from rubbing together. . . . **As both an atlas of anatomy and a work of art, *The Human Body* is a visual marvel, a movable feast for the mind."**—**Discover*

"The ultimate in pop-up books, and the 'all ages' designation is absolutely correct. A bright young child, a teenager curious about how his or her unpredictable body works, and the legion of Jonathan Miller fans will pore over this remarkable piece of work . . . . **Stupendous."**
—*Philadelphia Inquirer Books*

"Beautifully entertaining and instructive."—*People*

The Viking Press Dept. AK
40 West 23rd Street
New York, New York 10010

Name _____

Address _____

City/State _____ Zip _____

Please send books as indicated:

_____ copies of **The Human Body** @ $17.95 $_____

Sales tax where applicable $_____

Postage & handling ($1.75 for first copy; 75 cents for each additional copy). $_____

Total amount enclosed $_____

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE NEW REPUBLIC
DECEMBER 31, 1983

TWO TRACKS IN THE WILDERNESS

Are the Sandinistas serious? That's the question of the day in Central America. For the past several weeks—come to think of it, ever since the American invasion of Grenada—they have been running around doing conciliatory things. The list is long and unimpressive: (1.) They have been sending Cubans home in droves, although it's not clear whether these Cubans were teaching Nicaraguans how to read or how to fire an AK47, or whether they were returning home on their regular Christmas rotation. (2.) The Sandinistas have ostentatiously told some Salvadoran guerrilla leaders to set up headquarters elsewhere, although it is not clear whether the infrastructure of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front has really had to evacuate Managua. (3.) They have made a conciliatory gesture to the Church, though it was "an exchange of views, nothing more," according to Reverend Bismarck Carballo, the spokesman for the Church hierarchy; as for government censorship of Catholic radio stations or the ban on live transmission of Sunday mass, "There has been no progress on any of these points," Reverend Carballo says. (Even more disturbing is the fact that the Sandinista leadership ever sought to suppress the Church, the most powerful institution in Nicaragua and at first sympathetic to the revolution; it is an index of how intent the top leadership has been upon controlling any possible rival center of power.) (4.) Censorship on *La Prensa* has been relaxed, though there has been no real extension of freedom of the press; *La Prensa* remains the last independent source of news in the country. (5.) The government announced that it was pardoning all Miskito Indians convicted of political offenses, and claimed that it had released 307 from prison. But according to officials of the Independent Permanent Commission for Human Rights, no list of those freed has been issued, and religious workers in the Miskito area believe other Miskitos remain in jail despite the decree. "Speaking conservatively, we believe there are at least fifteen hundred prisoners in Nicaragua who have never seen a judge," said Marta Patricia Baltodano, national coordinator of the commission. (6.) The government offered to antigovernment guerrillas amnesty and a restoration of the right to vote and to be elected, but made sure to exclude all but the humblest *contra* foot soldier, which makes the amnesty very partial, and the part about "the right to be elected" empty.

As you can see, we're skeptical. Others are not. *The Boston Globe*, for example, has decided that "heeding advice from Fidel Castro and warnings from Mexico and other Latin American democracies as well as the European states, the Sandinistas have shown that they are ready to accept nonalignment and pluralism in order to preserve their revolution." Pluralism? A junta holds a monopoly of power and rules by decree. Some of these decrees give the appearance of moderating repression of formerly independent, in some cases revolutionary, sectors of society. These measures are characterized by the regime as favors. (The amnesty decree declares itself to be an act of "revolutionary generosity [by] the Junta of the National Reconstruction Government.") When that happens in Chile it's not called pluralism, and rightly so. It is no less so in Nicaragua.

Pluralism means a dispersion of power. The Sandinistas announced that on February 21 they will announce the date for national elections in 1985. There has been no indication that they will be willing to cede any power in

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

these elections—which is what real, as opposed to sham, elections are about—or that opposition groups will be permitted adequate access to media and other resources necessary to ensure a fair competition. Until that is made clear, talk of pluralism is premature. Those who talk of the virtues of real power-sharing in places like Beirut and San Salvador might pause a bit before declaring these at-best ambiguous Sandinista promises to be proof of pluralism.

As for nonalignment, Managua proposes to send home foreign military advisers and reduce outside military aid if its neighbors will do the same. This is not quite as equitable a deal as it appears. The Sandinista Army is by far the largest and most powerful in the region. It is a threat to all of its neighbors, not only Honduras and El Salvador, but Costa Rica too. And how would withdrawal of Nicaraguan and Cuban support to the guerrillas in El Salvador be verified? The Sandinistas deny giving any support in the first place. American support for the regime in El Salvador is official and verifiable, and its withdrawal would almost certainly mean military victory for the left.

IN SHORT, what has come out of Managua in the last several weeks are good signs. But good only in relation to the previous situation: suppression of the Church, repression of the opposition, severe strictures on the press, and war on the Miskito Indians. The direction of movement is good, but the distance thus far traveled minimal. And they are still only signs. The announcements have been made with great publicity, but real action is hard to perceive. When "the government refuses to provide a list of people that it's holding, or even to say how many prisons there are and where they are located," according to officials of the Independent Permanent Commission for Human Rights, what exactly does amnesty, let alone pluralism or nonalignment, mean?

Are the Sandinistas serious? The most that we can say now is that they are scared. The carrot held out by President Carter failed to moderate their drive toward a one-party state; the verbal stick employed by the Reagan Administration for the first year or so appears only to have accelerated that drive; the recent two-by-four of guerrilla war, American troops in Honduras, and the invasion of Grenada appears to have gotten their attention. A wise policy now for the United States would be to keep it and test it.

That makes for a two-track policy. First, apply the pressure that brought them to their current conciliatory mood. This is no time to let up. Second, find out what they mean by these signals. Are they truly ready to trade the Salvadoran revolution for their own? Are they willing to abide by the Contadora principles of noninterference and nonintervention in the affairs of their neighbors? Not only has the regime in Managua been supporting (and denying its support of) the insurgency in El Salvador, it has been stirring up trouble in Honduras and even in Costa Rica. Last month a column of a hundred guerrillas trained and sent from Nicaragua moved across the border to begin a guerrilla war in Honduras. A remarkably successful Honduran Army operation completely destroyed this unit. But the demonstration of Nicaragua's potential for mischief in the area was unmistakable.

Testing the intentions of the Sandinistas means more than merely accepting a promise of nonintervention or nonalignment. It means pressing in any negotiation with the Sandinistas—and now is the time to begin negotiating—for true pluralism within the country. Opening up the political system in Nicaragua is not merely a good in itself; it is the *only* real guarantee that the regime will keep to its external commitments. Given Nicaragua's regional activities, given the history elsewhere of Leninist promises of noninterference and nonaggression in the affairs of neighbors, one has reason to doubt that an agreement signed with such a regime will last beyond the current emergency. The best guarantee for nonaggression is the presence within the Nicaraguan government of elements who have no interest in spreading subversion. Pluralism in Nicaragua would not only be good for Nicaragua, it would be good for all of Central America. It would be the only reliable guarantor of nonintervention.

Which is why the proposal made by a group of Nicaraguan rebel leaders meeting in early December with Special Envoy Richard Stone in Panama is a good one. They declared their willingness to enter into negotiations with the government for free elections and an open political system. If they are willing to stand for elections, why aren't the Sandinistas? Particularly since the Sandinistas (and American political pilgrims like Senator Paul Tsongas) repeatedly tell us that they have overwhelming popular support in the country. If these rebels are indeed Somocistas, they shouldn't stand a chance in any open electoral contest.

As expected, the Managua regime rejected out of hand the suggestion of negotiations. Foreign Minister Miguel d'Escoto said, "We want to talk to the puppeteers, not the puppets." Mere dependence on foreign assistance seems to us not to delegitimize a guerrilla movement. (If so, the National Liberation Front in South Vietnam should never have been allowed to a negotiating table.) Nor is it true that the guerrilla leaders who met with Mr. Stone are all Somocistas. No doubt there are former guardsmen in the military command of the major group, the F.D.N., but it is hard to level the charge of *Somocismo* against another group, M3 (the Third Way), led by a former Sandinista agriculture minister; or at the Miskito Indians, one of the groups to join the call for elections and pluralism.

The Sandinistas object that the revolution is irreversible. We should be willing to grant that principle immediately, while at the same time denying that Comandante Daniel Ortega has the right to claim, "*la revolution c'est moi*." The revolution may be irreversible, but the same should not be said of a one-party state; or repression of Church, press, and political opposition; or Committees for the Defense of the Revolution on every block.

It is also important to remember that the kind of democ-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

racy and pluralism demanded by the guerrillas is not a North American import. What is being demanded is precisely the promise of democracy and pluralism made by the Sandinistas before they achieved power, and which they have systematically betrayed.

This is the age of two-track policies: pressure and negotiation. Our hope is that this Administration, which has certainly not labored under any illusions that negotiation is enough, will similarly not succumb to the illusion that pressure is enough. Even the C.I.A. concludes that the guerrilla armies are in no position to overthrow the Sandinistas. Unless the Administration is prepared to engage the United States in a brutal, bloody, and long ground war in the area, there is no alternative to a policy of negotiation and pressure. And to negotiate a settlement which yields a more plural and open Nicaraguan society is infinitely preferable to an American-backed regime fighting Sandinistas in the hills, which would be the likely and terrible outcome of even a *successful* one-track military policy.

A PARALLEL POLICY in El Salvador has also attempted to keep itself on two tracks: military support for the government, and American pressure for economic and social reforms and human rights improvements. With President Reagan's pocket veto of the requirement that every six months the Administration certify human rights improvements in El Salvador, one of those tracks has been abruptly lost. This development will not only be a great blow to the victims of human rights abuses in El Salvador (see "Behind the Death Squads," by Christopher Dickey, TNR, December 26); it is a threat to El Salvador itself and to American hopes for the country.

The loss of any instrument to restrain the brutal death squads in El Salvador is to be lamented. The Administration protests that it has made its unhappiness with the death squads extremely evident, with tough statements from Undersecretary of Defense Fred Iklé (one of the staunchest supporters of current policy in El Salvador), from Deputy Secretary of State Kenneth Dam, from the new U.S. ambassador, Thomas Pickering. And the State Department spokesman who explained why Roberto d'Aubuisson was refused a visa to the United States (in an evenhanded gesture to balance the banning of one of the Sandinista leaders, Tomás Borge) for the first time explicitly referred to his involvement with death squads.

Nonetheless, certification was an additional form of pressure, and now it is gone. It was perhaps the worst mechanism for exerting pressure on the Administration, but it was better than any of the rest. It was the worst because it allowed Congress to snipe at Administration policy without taking responsibility for the consequences of its own opposition. Thus critics protested that the Administration was disingenuously claiming at previous certification sessions that progress was being made on human rights; but would they then have been prepared for the total cutoff of aid that is required by the legislation? Would they be prepared to accept responsibility for the consequences of such an action, including a leftist takeover? And what of the human rights situation *then*? Experience in Vietnam and elsewhere gives us little reason to believe that such an outcome makes for improvement in human rights. Still, this kind of pressure is better than the rest, because the threat of cutting off aid is one of the few types of persuasion to which Mr. d'Aubuisson and his gang are susceptible. Officially renouncing the threat sends an unfortunate signal.

Secretary of State George Shultz has admitted that he would not have been able to certify improvements in human rights at the next scheduled session in January. There has been an increase in death squad killings in the last few months. If the legislation had not been vetoed, and Secretary Shultz was not able to certify improvements in human rights, he would have had only one of two choices: either to cut off aid to the government in El Salvador, or to invoke the national security waiver which forces the United States to admit that for geopolitical reasons it no longer binds itself to human rights criteria. That, in effect, is what Mr. Schultz has done. Yet alternatives are not easy to devise. More pressure on the government, yes. More attempts to undercut Mr. d'Aubuisson and prevent his accession to power in the coming election, yes. But the only real answer to political murder in El Salvador is an American takeover of the government. To do in El Salvador what we did with the thugs in Grenada: seize the country and throw them out. Who's for that?

It would be best to remind the Salvadorans every six months that they may lose everything—meaning their critical American support—if they continue to permit death squads to operate. Even without such a threat, it is obvious that the more such killings continue, the less chance there is for any center to form, and for any moderate government ever to survive. The government is losing the war with the guerrillas on the left and with the killers on the right. We may soon be relieved of our moral dilemmas about saving such a government. There may soon be nothing left to save.

NOTEBOOK

□ DAMNED IF THEY DO AND DAMNED IF THEY DON'T. There is reason to believe that the military and political screws the Administration is turning on Fidel Castro's allies in the region are beginning to work. The Grenadian invasion and the Nicaraguan imbroglio may have Mr. Castro thinking again. Still, there is a kind of American conservative thinking that refuses to take yes for an answer. For example: Lee Lescaze's analysis of the situation in Surinam in *The Wall Street Journal* of December 7 makes you wonder what exactly will satisfy these proud critics of Mr. Castro. You will recall that Surinam was the scene of one of the most dramatically good consequences of the intervention in Grenada. Colonel Desi Bouterse, a dictator and a Marx-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ist and a happy host to the Cubans, abruptly expelled Havana's ambassador and advisers in the wake of the American landing to the east. But hold the applause. Reporting from Paramaribo, Lescaze sees a number of reasons to believe that the anti-Cuban appearances deceive. Three reasons, to be precise. The government announced that it wishes to improve relations with Cuba. Colonel Bouterse seated a delegation of North Koreans in the front row at his most recent rally. And, most bizarrely, Mr. Lescaze writes that "though the Cubans are gone, the Brazilians are here." Now really. Does all this rob the United States of a rare opportunity to thank heaven for little favors?

□ TWENTY YEARS AGO IN THE NEW REPUBLIC. "The year 1963 has been a year of violence in South Africa. It reflects the abandonment by the major African organizations of the policy of nonviolence. That is why the Pretoria sabotage trial is attracting so much attention. The State alleges that the accused who formed the National High Command of the banned African National Congress were, in fact, plotting civil war aimed at the overthrow of the Nationalist government. When the ten accused were asked to plead, Nelson Mandela (number one accused), an attorney and formerly an amateur boxer, said loudly: 'The government should be in the dock. I plead not guilty.' Walter Sisulu then said: 'The government is responsible for what has happened in this country. I plead not guilty.' The judge intervened to say: 'I do not want political speeches.' But the rest made almost precisely the same short statement." ("I Plead Not Guilty," by Stanley Uys, December 28, 1963.)

WHITE HOUSE WATCH

RUNNING REAGAN

IN EARLY 1982, when President Reagan's approval ratings had descended to 45 percent, five points lower than Jimmy Carter's at a comparable stage in his Presidency, there was talk among pundits and politicians that Reagan might be a lame duck. Now, with Reagan's approval ratings at or above 60 percent, some of the very same people are forecasting a 1984 landslide. The truth, of course, is that it's foolish to depend on polls to predict the distant future. Prudently, neither Reagan's own campaign organization nor those of his Democratic rivals is preparing for anything but a close election.

Reagan's campaign director, Edward Rollins, formerly chief of the White House political office, has been thinking about the reelection since January and holding meetings with other top Reagan officials about it since March. He was formally asked to run the campaign in late May by Senator Paul Laxalt, its general chairman, and by White House Chief of Staff James Baker and Deputy Chief of Staff Michael Deaver. A week or so later, the President's pollster and strategist, Richard Wirthlin, had his first intensive campaign-planning lunch with Stuart Spencer, the California consultant who's sometimes called the "political godfather" of the Reagan Administration.

Over the summer, Wirthlin worked on the first draft of his 1984 campaign plan, now in its fourth revision. The main document, of which there are supposedly only four or five copies, is about two hundred pages long with sixty or seventy pages of appendices, and is bound into a black hardcover book. Its first lines say that "a campaign plan should neither be chiseled in stone nor written on sand," and according to Wirthlin the document will be updated many times again between now and election day, November 6.

ALSO last summer, Rollins and his deputy, Lee Atwater, consulted with officials of the Nixon and Ford Administrations to learn how an incumbent President should and shouldn't run. Except for the free-flowing cash and Watergate dirty tricks, Rollins says, the 1972 Nixon reelection effort stands as a model of organizational efficiency, "one of the all-time great campaigns." This time though, the Reagan-Bush '84 campaign and its finance committee are under unified command, and the effort is tied in much more closely with the Republican National Committee, with Senator Laxalt serving as chairman of both. And this year, unlike in some previous Republican campaigns, great efforts were expended state by state to assemble Reagan organizations representing both top elected officials and old-time Reagan loyalists and to smooth out conflicts where they occurred. On November 7 the Reagan campaign named committees in all fifty states, which Reagan managers say is the earliest such a thing has been done in any Presidential campaign.

In other senses, too, the Reagan-Bush campaign is a sophisticated operation. It was officially launched on October 17, and within a week had qualified for federal matching funds by raising $5,000 in each of twenty states in contributions of $250 or less. Even though President Reagan has no primary opposition, the campaign intends to raise and spend all the $21 million in preconvention funds allowed by law. It already has raised more than $3 million with an initial direct mail appeal sent out November 18 to six hundred thousand contributors. Along with the Republican National Committee and the party's Senate and House campaign committees, Reagan-Bush has a list of 2.2 million proven donors to which it can turn for funds, a huge number. The campaign has eighty-eight full-time employees, posh offices, and a preliminary plan to register more than 3 million new voters—all before the President has announced that he will run. That will happen on January 29, four days after Reagan delivers his State of the Union address.

President Reagan's reelection prospects, though, depend more on his performance as President than on his

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

campaign organization. And while his reelection committee has been running smoothly, the White House has not been. There has been one flap over the tenure of the President's chief economic adviser, Martin Feldstein, and another over his treatment by the rest of the White House staff. Chief of Staff James Baker considered leaving to become, of all things, baseball commissioner. Both Communications Director David Gergen and chief Congressional lobbyist Kenneth Duberstein are departing.

FELDSTEIN, at latest word, is not leaving soon, even though it appeared for a time that his resignation was being sought by Baker and his deputy, Richard Darman. Both of them agree with the Harvard economist's view that the President's $200 billion budget deficit poses a threat to economic recovery. They also believe in team play, however, and wanted Feldstein to stop giving comfort to the Democrats by publicly advocating higher taxes which the President had ruled out. Even though Feldstein was treated roughly, he apparently wants to remain in office and is willing to confine his objections to the President's inner councils.

Even though it seems ridiculous that a White House chief of staff would leave to become baseball commissioner, particularly when he is scheduled to play a major role in the reelection campaign, Baker aides say he really did consider the offer, mostly out of exhaustion. Of all Reagan appointees, Baker appears to have aged the most since 1981. During the first year in office, he fought more or less constantly with counselor Edwin Meese over who would run what in the White House, though he finally won out. During parts of the second and third years, Baker fought—though less intensely than with Meese—with National Security Adviser William Clark over both policy and power until Clark finally retreated to the Interior Department.

All the while, Baker has been performing not only the functions of a chief of staff, but some of those of a chief executive too, such as conducting negotiations with Congress. And all the while he has been under attack from conservatives inside and outside the Administration because he allegedly has diverted the President and his policies from an ideologically pure path. Baker tried to succeed Clark as national security adviser in hopes of gaining foreign policy experience and putting himself in position to be Secretary of State, Secretary of Defense, or Treasury Secretary in a second Reagan Administration. He was blocked from the N.S.C. job by Administration conservatives, though presumably he still could get a top cabinet post if he successfully manages the White House end of the reelection campaign. The most frequently mentioned possible successor to Baker is former Transportation Secretary Drew Lewis, now president of Warner Communications, chairman of the Reagan reelection strategy committee, and another skilled government pragmatist sure to come under conservative fire.

Gergen and Duberstein, moderate Republicans and Baker subordinates, also have been targets of conservative rage. Both, too, have contributed to Reagan's success in broadening his appeal outside the right wing of the Republican Party. Duberstein has done so with Congress, and Gergen with the press and public. Since election years often are do-nothing periods in Congress, Duberstein's absence is likely to be less damaging than Gergen's in 1984. Gergen's talents lay in concocting public relations strategies to make the President seem competent and caring—not always the easiest of tasks—and in selling these images in background briefings for reporters without ever telling a lie. Gergen quit, reportedly, because he disagreed with the policy of restricting press coverage of the Grenada invasion and the President's ordering of a full-scale investigation—possibly with lie detector tests—of Lebanon policy leaks. He performed his job superbly, and it's not at all clear that it can be done as well by Deaver and Darman, who have other administrative functions to perform.

Whether he deserves it or not, President Reagan is heading toward election year in strong political condition, considering that he has presided over the deepest recession since the 1930s and has ordered American troops into combat for the first time since 1975. Wirthlin reported to the press on December 7 that his polling showed Reagan has a 62 percent approval rating and leads both Democratic front-runners by 14 points, 52 percent to 38 percent. Wirthlin acknowledges that the successful Grenada invasion boosted Reagan's popularity, but calls it the "afterburner" to a rocket that was already soaring toward 60 percent. He noted that the Iranian hostage crisis boosted Jimmy Carter's popularity four years earlier from 29 percent to 56 percent, indicating by comparison that Reagan had a better initial base of support before Grenada and surpassed Carter's levels after the invasion.

OTHER reelection officials point to further evidence of strength. They say that in order to win with 50.7 percent of the popular vote, as he did in 1980, Reagan needs to receive at least 80 percent support from Republicans, 25 percent from Democrats, and 50 percent from independents, and that he currently is scoring 80, 29, and 55 percent, respectively. Among voters in union households, Reagan got 40 percent in 1980 and is scoring 45 percent now. The Reaganites acknowledge that the President is doing less well among women than the 48 percent he got in 1980, but is doing five points better among men than his 53 percent in 1980. "The key thing for us," said one campaign official, "is to convince Republican and independent women that the economy is really getting better. E.R.A. and the other feminist issues are not the trouble. It is that men believe the President's economic program has helped them, but women don't."

In spite of Reagan's generally favorable showing in the polls, both his and his opposition's campaign managers forecast nothing like the landslide that some columnists sense. According to Walter Mondale's pollster, Peter Hart, "Reagan gets a 63 percent approval rating according to ABC, but the same poll shows him beating Mondale by only 50 to 44 and Glenn 49 to 46. If the man is so strong,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

why is he leading by so little, especially when he's President and the other party's nominee has yet to be picked?" According to Hart, Reagan's popularity loses its luster when key constituencies and issues are considered. "Fairness is a beachhead for the Democrats," Hart said. "The public is 60 percent against him on that. When you ask people whether he is getting us any closer to peace, they say he is not. The elderly are against him on Social Security, and the minorities are against him. He's also lost his consensus for defense spending on the defense-waste issue."

According to Hart, "I thought people were crazy last summer when they said Reagan was dead, and I think they are just as crazy now to say he's got it made." Reagan campaign officials agree, and most of all they concur that foreign policy is likely to be the most difficult issue that Reagan faces. "We face a very worrisome international scene," a Reagan campaign official said. "There are a lot of dynamics that we can't control, especially in Lebanon. We assume the Russians will not want to face four more years of Reagan, and will do what they can to destabilize areas of the world and force Reagan to take action that might be unpopular. Reagan is not as vulnerable on the peace issue as he was pre-1980 and pre-Grenada. He's been proving that he is not a trigger-happy fool."

Reagan may not seem irresponsible now, but he could seem incompetent eleven months from now if Lebanon or some other policy goes tragically awry. Under those circumstances, Reagan could lose even if his challenger did not seem appreciably more competent in foreign policy than he did. After all, that is how Reagan won the Presidency in the first place.

MORTON KONDRACKE

Vietnam exports dissidents to Siberia.

TERMS OF ENSLAVEMENT?

LETTERS that have made their way out of Vietnam over the past two years have conveyed a new sense of fear. Although all mail passes through government censors, deep anxiety and hopelessness can be read between the lines in letters about friends and relatives who have been sent to construction sites in the Soviet Union, particularly Siberia. And although few facts about the numbers and names of those involved can be verified, at least two things can be ascertained: a large-scale deportation of Vietnamese is underway, and those who have been deported regard their conscription as virtual enslavement.

Initial reports of the deportations appeared in the London *Economist* in September 1981, followed by accounts in the European and Asian press that peaked in 1982 and that have recurred sporadically since. The American press, by and large, has been extremely cautious. Direct evidence has been difficult to obtain, and there is a marked reluctance to cover so volatile a subject without an accumulation of tangible proof. Yet what is known about the Vietnamese-Soviet economic relationship, and specifically the Labor Cooperation Treaty signed in February 1981, provides a background against which the powerful, occasionally contradictory, evidence begins to make sense.

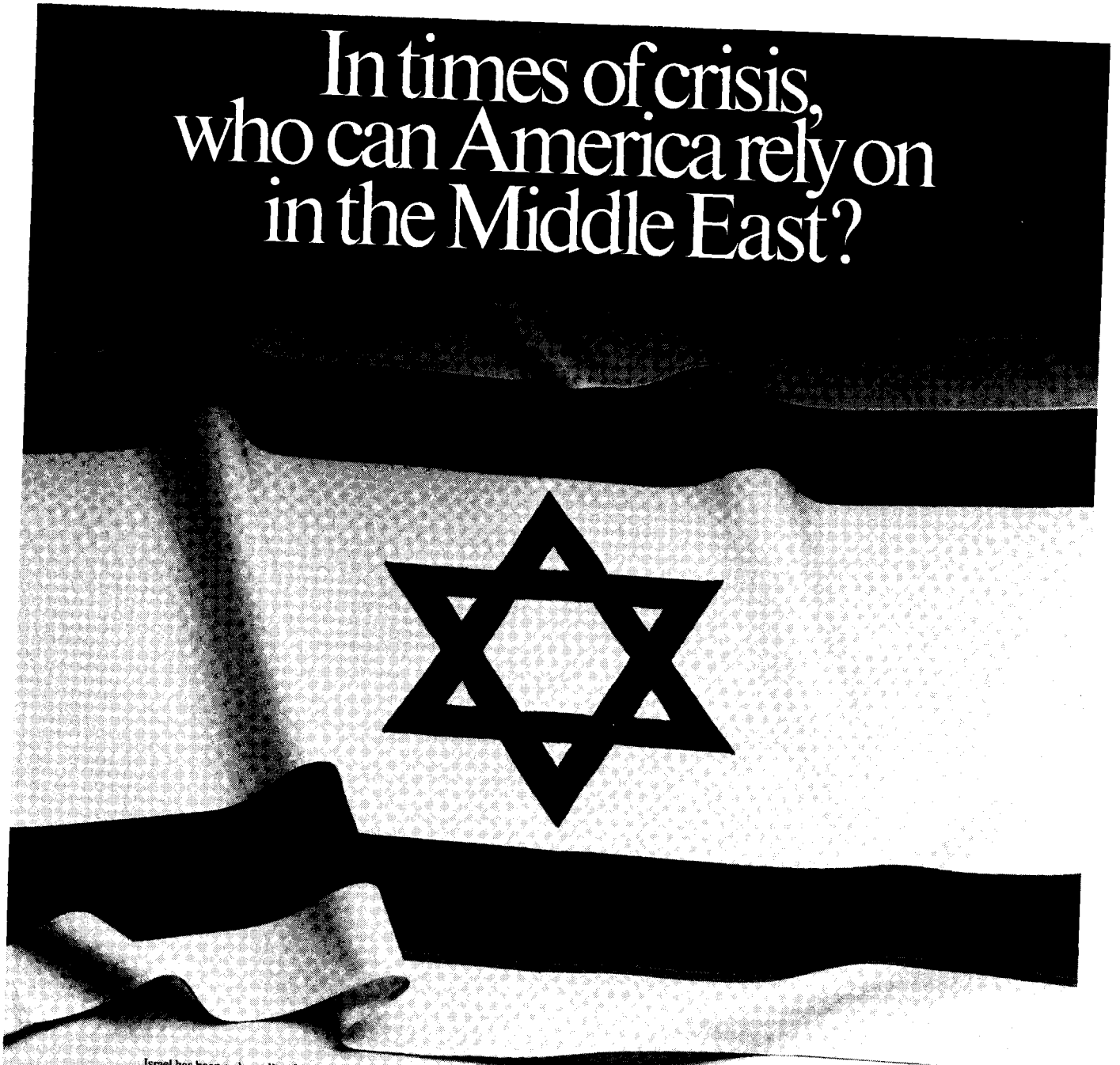
THERE IS no question that Vietnamese labor has been sent to the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe in increasing numbers since 1981, and very likely since 1980. In a statement published in 1982 by *Nhan Dan*, the party daily, a Soviet spokesman said, "The Soviet Union and Vietnam have firmly and actively cooperated in all fields—political, economic, and defense—to increasingly develop the natural resources of Siberia and the Far Eastern region." But information on how many people are involved is inconsistent. In hearings on the human rights consequences of the trans-Siberian pipeline, Senator William Armstrong's International Finance Subcommittee learned from reliable sources that two Soviet freighters, the *Obdurst* and *Doudinka*, sailed from Vietnam in March 1982 with approximately twenty-five hundred Vietnamese laborers aboard. According to the same sources, an additional thirty-two hundred were transported on the Soviet warships *Minsk* and *Denskovitch* and another eight hundred and twenty on the East German liner *Rugen*. In May 1982, *Izvestia* reported that seven thousand Vietnamese students, between the ages of 17 and 35, had arrived for a year of training and work. At the same time, however, Tass quoted Leonid Kostin, deputy director of the State Committee for Labor and Social Affairs, as saying that the program provided for a five-year stay.

The Soviets appeared eager to downplay the numbers, while the figures released by Vietnamese sources fluctuated wildly. Four months prior to the Tass article, Vietnam's *Military Daily News* had announced that not seven thousand, but sixty thousand Vietnamese "trainees and workers" were sent during 1981; the government-supported *Ket Hop* magazine put the number at fifty thousand. At about the same time, in response to questioning from the French press, the Vietnamese Embassy in Paris released the figure of 24,500. Writing in *Nhan Dan* on April 1982, Vietnam's minister of labor, Dan Thieu Thi, noted that "hundreds of thousands of Vietnamese workers have been sent to the Soviet Union under the Labor Cooperation Treaty to study, to train, and to work," and that "Future labor cooperation will be doubled." However, a Radio Hanoi broadcast of December 1982 declared that "many tens of thousands of Vietnamese workers" had been sent. This same broadcast reaffirmed Minister Thi's report that the number of workers was expected to increase substantially in 1983.

Unofficial party sources inside Vietnam and information from refugees indicate that the projected total number of

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

In times of crisis, who can America rely on in the Middle East?



Israel has been a close ally of the United States since 1948.

In fact, last year Israel sided with us in the United Nations more often than any other nation—including Great Britain, France and West Germany.

Yet there are those who are working to discredit Israel in the eyes of Congress, the media and the American public.

The Arab lobby has created a new political organization called MEPARC—The Middle East Policy and Research Corporation. MEPARC is "educating" American corporate executives, especially those doing business in the Middle East, as to where their political contributions through corporate PACs (political action committees) should be going.

Israel won't be the only country that will suffer as a result of this.

Nothing would do more damage to the strategic interests of the United States in the Middle East than the abandonment or even the slightest weakening of our ties with Israel.

We, the members of The National PAC (NatPAC for short) are seeing to it that this important ally is helped by our political system. Not hindered by it.

NatPAC does this by helping to elect officials in all 50 states who realize that Israel's survival is vital to our own.

But this takes a lot more than hard work. It takes money. Money to counter the nearly $30 million spent by corporate PACs in the 1982 election.

Important organizations like the UJA, the ADL, The American Jewish Committee and AIPAC *cannot* make political contributions, NatPAC *can*.

So please join us. You'll not only be helping one of our most important allies, you'll also be helping another nation as well. America.

Kindly fill in the coupon below to comply with Federal Election Law. Enclosed is my personal check to "NatPAC" for_____

Name_____

Address_____

City, State, Zip_____

Employer_____

Occupation_____

Please mail to: The National PAC, P.O. Box 37050 Washington, D.C. 20013.

NR-12-31

TAX INFORMATION:
Remember, half of the first $100 you give politically, or half of $200 if you file a joint return, is returned to you as a credit on your income tax return.

NAT PAC

FAITH IN ISRAEL STRENGTHENS AMERICA.

Paid for by The National PAC

MARVIN JOSEPHSON, Chairman
Morris Abram
John C. Archibald
Ted Ashley
Charles Ballon
George Barrie
Jeffrey S. Berg
Ivan Boesky
Bernie Brillstein
Robert Chartoff
Tisa Chew
Richard Clayton
Marshall S. Cogan
Sidney E. Cohn
Dr. Jerome S. Coles
Warren J. Cowan
Leonard Davis
Cipa Dichter
Misha Dichter
Barry Diller
Bertram Fields
Joseph Flom
Michael Forman
Monte Friedkin
David Geffen
Marshall M. Gelfand
David Gerber
Philip Gersh
Peter Gilbert
Rabbi Joseph B. Glaser
Arnold B. Glimcher
Sheldon Gold
Alan G. Hassenfeld
Arthur G. Hiller
Anita Hirsh
Stanley Hirsh
Bob Hope
J. Lawrence Hughes
Bernard Jacobs
Charles H. Joffe
Jack Josephson
Stan Kamen
Mark N. Kaplan
Sanford Kaplan
Ted Kaplan
Earl Katz
Rabbi Wolfe Kelman
Robert Keeshan
George Klein
Michael Korda
CarolBeth Korn
Lester Korn
Hal Landers
Sherry Lansing
William Lendman
Dr. David Lieber
Martin Lipton
Susan Loren
William J. Maher
Ralph S. Mann
Ted Mann
Reuben Mattus
Rose Mattus
Joy Ungerleider-Mayerson
Zubin Mehta
Sue Mengers
Rabbi Judah Nadich
James M. Nederlander
Lynn Nesbit
Hon. Manfred Ohrenstein
Martin Peretz
Itzhak Perlman
Alan D. Pesky
Roberta Peters
Arnold M. Picker
David Picker
Bruce M. Ramer
Alleck A. Resnick
Simon H. Rifkind
Henry C. Rogers
Jack Rollins
Leonard Rose
Ernest Rubenstein
William Sarnoff
Rabbi Alexander Schindler
Gerald Schoenfeld
Alvin H. Schulman
Marvin Sears
Martin E. Segal
Richard Sennett
Monty Shapiro
Sidney K. Sheldon
Herbert J. Siegel
Fred Silverman
Melvin Simon
Donald C. Simpson
Marvin Sloves
Joseph B. Smith
Richard A. Smith
Richard E. Snyder
Aaron Spelling
Carl Spielvogel
Dennis C. Stanfill
Ben Stein
Mike Stein
John Trubin
John V. Tunney
Irwin Winkler
James Wolfensohn
Rabbi Walter S. Wurzburger
Leo Ziffren
Jay Zises
Selig Zises
Seymour Zises
Eugenia Zukerman
Pinchas Zukerman

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

workers for the first five years of the treaty (1981-1986) is five to six hundred thousand. Although such sources must be treated carefully, this at first astonishing estimate seems to be conservative if one takes the low "official" Vietnamese government figure for 1981 of 24,500, doubles it for 1982, and assumes proportionate increases through 1986.

IT IS POSSIBLE that the Soviet articles were meant as rebuttals to Western charges of forced labor, and that the Vietnamese reports were primarily for home consumption in a society whose leaders are anxious to affirm what party Secretary General Le Duan has called "the cornerstone policy of firm and solid cooperation with the Soviet Union." But whatever the actual figure is, both Soviet and Vietnamese sources deny that the labor transfers can in any way be regarded as enslavement.

According to *Nhan Dan*, workers are well treated in their host countries and receive salaries on a scale of 68 rubles per month for unskilled labor to 268 per month for skilled work. Czechoslovakian radio reports that at least some of the Vietnamese there (a total of thirty thousand; the number is slated to rise) work in standard industrial jobs under conditions not much different from those of Czech workers.

And we know from refugee sources that some Vietnamese have indeed volunteered for foreign labor service. In 1980 and 1981, during a time when there were food riots in Haiphong, Vinh, and Nghe Tinh, and starvation was widely rumored, many North Vietnamese were willing to take any work available, regardless of location or conditions. Estimates of Vietnamese real unemployment still range from 10 to 20 percent of the work force. Under these circumstances, foreign opportunities of any sort might well draw substantial numbers of applicants.

There is more to the story, however, than volunteers performing standard industrial jobs. Letters from Vietnamese in the Soviet bloc say that work is harder than in Vietnam, and the weather unbearably cold. One worker wrote to a Canadian friend that his construction site in western Siberia is guarded by Vietnamese soldiers, and that clothing, issued for a three-year period, is grossly inadequate for winter conditions. The pay is 7 rubles a month, enough for ten packs of cigarettes. The only way out is to "create a serious disciplinary disturbance," but, the writer adds, "you know what would happen to me and my family." A letter from another worker in Siberia says that he arrived by plane and was sent immediately to a work camp where there is none of the promised training, only "hard labor day after day." The monthly salary is 90 rubles. A third smuggled letter is from a worker who says he is part of a Vietnamese labor gang and that the quantity of food given out depends on the amount of work performed.

The U.S. State Department believes that one-third of the workers' wages are held by the Soviet government toward payment of Vietnam's approximately $5 billion debt to the U.S.S.R., and that another third goes directly to the Vietnamese government. French and British press reports have indicated that 60 percent is held by the host government, 20 percent by the Vietnamese government, and the remaining 20 percent distributed to the workers. On a pay scale of 68 to 268 rubles a month, this would mean a wage of about $3 per week to unskilled laborers and $14 to skilled workers. Even the Tass article left open the possibility that wages are not being fully distributed.

In letters gathered from the refugee community, we have identified twelve people who have been transported involuntarily to the Soviet Union. The language used is often Aesopian. One letter says, "Tan is happy to be chosen for work in Siberia. He was released from [prison] camp a few months ago, and again he is far away, separated from his family. But he knows he will now have a chance to see Mr. Ba." This letter passed the censors, who were unaware that Mr. Ba died in prison several years ago. The real message: Tan had been re-arrested and sent to a Soviet labor camp, where he did not expect to survive. It is clear from the letters that families are not told how long the prisoners will be forced to work. Some are sent directly from Vietnamese corrective labor camps to the Soviet Union; others, like Tan, are re-arrested after completing prison terms. All twelve deportees have either been in Vietnamese prisons or were suspected of opposition or of pro-Chinese sympathies.

The overall picture that emerges is that there are apparently several categories of Vietnamese workers in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, including both volunteers and prisoners, and that in one category at least the Vietnamese regime regards forced labor abroad as an alternative to internment for political crimes at home.

THIS PICTURE is given added credence by the Vietnamese draft law of 1980 which, according to *Nhan Dan*, divided all Vietnamese between the ages of 17 and 35 (including those held in prison camps) into two categories. Category A includes all those who have revolutionary credentials, or have no history of reactionary activities. These people are drafted into the Peoples Army, and many of them serve occupation duty in Cambodia or Laos. Category B includes all those who were associated with the former regime, whose relatives were associated with it, or who are currently suspected of opposition. They are subject to a work draft, and it is from this group that much of the export labor appears to be culled. Because it is considered impossible to predict how long re-education might take in any given case, indefinite sentences are standard in the Vietnamese domestic prison and labor camp system. It is unlikely that different regulations are applied to those sent abroad.

There is nothing inherently unlikely about a national labor export program designed to help achieve Vietnam's economic and political goals. The Vietnamese government expelled the ethnic Chinese in 1979, confiscating property and charging from four to ten ounces of gold per head for the right to leave the country. The government has also forced an estimated two to three million people with politi-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

cally suspect backgrounds into the so-called "New Economic Zones," previously uncultivated jungle areas that are considered potentially productive. Vietnam has a substantial labor surplus, and the Soviet Union faces a troublesome and growing shortage. For Vietnam, a sizable labor transfer would provide a means of amortizing the Soviet debt while alleviating to a certain extent the difficulty of feeding the population (20 percent of domestic food requirements are imported). It would also play a role in the suppression of domestic opposition. There is little reason to believe that the Soviet Union, with its long tradition of corrective labor camps, would be averse to accepting forced as well as volunteer workers from Vietnam.

These are the circumstances that lead to deep and legitimate suspicions that Vietnamese are subject to forced labor in the Soviet Union. Enough is known now to warrant an investigation by the International Labor Organization or Amnesty International. At the least, such an investigation might bring to light the facts about compensation, workers' living conditions, and the numbers involved. Should it also reveal the widespread human rights violations that the refugee reports suggest, then the Soviet and Vietnamese governments would be put on notice that such practices contravene the most basic expectations that the international community has of its members. For the West to avoid responsibility in this matter is to share the blame.

DOAN VAN TOAI & DAVID CHANOFF

Doan Van Toai, a visiting scholar at the University of California at Berkeley, is the author of *The Vietnamese Gulag* (Regnery/Gateway). David Chanoff is working with him on two new books about the Viet Cong.

Reagan-bashing is fun, but a trap awaits.

LIBERALS AND DEFICITS

BY MICHAEL KINSLEY

ONE of the most dizzying things they try to make you believe in first-year economics is that the national debt is no cause for alarm because "we owe it to ourselves." As late as the 1976 edition of Paul Samuelson's famous textbook, talk about burdening future generations and analogies between the government's budget and a family's budget were dismissed as "the clichés of old-fangled shirt-sleeve economics," at home "in any club locker room or bar." The message was, leave that talk to the old fogies.

Who would have thought that this fogyish talk about the national debt would become the mainstay of Democratic political rhetoric? The temptation for Democrats to attack President Reagan's budget deficits is irresistible, of course, and mostly warranted. But for reasons both of honesty and of practical strategy, it's useful for Democrats to keep in mind exactly why Reagan's deficits are bad.

The basic Econ I point remains as true (albeit as hard to believe) as ever. A nation's debt to its own citizens is different from a family's debt to the bank. The debt itself doesn't make the nation as a whole any poorer, and deficit spending can even make the nation richer if used at the right time to stimulate a weak economy. Hysterical warnings about civic bankruptcy are just as silly now as they were when uttered by Republican fogies. But other things have changed since the glory days of Keynesianism.

One change is that we no longer just "owe it to ourselves." America will absorb about $30 billion of investment capital from abroad this year, and probably more than double that next year, a historic reversal from the days (two years ago) when America was a net capital exporter. All of this foreign capital doesn't go toward financing the national debt, but it replaces other money that does. This alleviates some of the problems that would otherwise be caused by huge deficits. But it means that this nation, just like a family, will have to pay off those loans with real resources some day.

There have been three other changes, two in the nature of the deficit and one in the nature of our thinking about it. First, the deficit has reached a size—$200 billion a year—that Samuelson never dreamed possible. Second, Keynes's idea was that deficits would give the economy a push in bad times; but this deficit will continue into good times. Right now, about half the deficit is caused by a still-weak economy, which reduces tax revenues and increases social welfare costs. This part is expected to shrink as the economy gets stronger over the next few years, but the other part—the "structural" deficit—is expected to get larger, so that the deficit will still be $200 billion in 1988, even if things are booming.

Third, Keynes was concerned with the "paradox of thrift," the danger that people would save too much money and the economy would be anemic. In America today, for a variety of reasons, our problem is the opposite. We

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

need to discourage consumption and encourage savings so there will be more money to invest for the future.

It's clear to any sensible and honest person that these huge, undiminishing deficits will hurt our economy. What's not clear is exactly how. They could re-ignite inflation by overstimulating demand as the economy reaches full capacity. If the Federal Reserve Board moves to prevent this by squeezing the money supply, we'll tumble back into recession. And in any event, the deficit swallows up huge piles of capital that would otherwise go to private investment, thus reducing our future prosperity.

I would not hazard to guess whether Representative Jack Kemp was being stupid or dishonest when he wrote in the December 11 *New York Times* that "there is still no convincing evidence that deficits raise either inflation or interest rates." Treasury Secretary Donald Regan, a smart fellow, has been bluffing with similar pronouncements, accompanied by flurries of studies. Ordinarily these gentlemen are great evangelists of the free market, but on this matter they wish to repudiate the law of supply and demand. Interest rates are the price of money. When someone enters the market to buy up a large part of the available supply at any price—which is essentially what the government is doing in the market for capital—the price goes up.

So why have inflation and interest rates come down during the Reagan megadeficit years? Inflation came down because the Federal Reserve Board created a recession. Anyone can do that. As for interest rates, they have *not* come down. Real interest rates—the nominal rate minus the part that's just making up for erosion of the dollar—are higher than ever. Fifteen percent interest minus 12 percent inflation was a better deal than today's 9 percent minus 3 percent inflation. They would be even higher, except that the nongovernment demand for capital has been weak because of the recession. As private demand for capital increases, high interest rates will "crowd out" borrowers who (unlike the government) can't afford to pay any price or bear any burden for capital.

THE BIGGEST PILE of government-issue malarkey on the subject of deficits has come from the President himself. On November 3, for example, Reagan told two lies he has repeated often: "We face those deficits because the Congress still spends too much." And, "I'm prepared to veto tax increases if they send them to my desk, no matter how they arrive."

Oh, really? And what if they arrive all gift-wrapped, with a little note that says, "Here, with love, is the tax increase you requested last year"? In the spring of 1983 the Reagan Administration proposed a "stand-by" tax increase for 1986, including a new energy tax and a 5 percent across-the-board income tax surcharge. "Stand-by" means that the tax will only be imposed if it proves to be necessary, based on statistical conditions only slightly more certain to occur than the sun rising tomorrow. All of the Administration's official predictions about future economic conditions *assume* this tax increase. Secretary Regan confirmed last week that a "contingent" tax increase will be proposed again this spring.

The transgression of Martin Feldstein, chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advisers, was not to propose a tax increase, but to point out that Reagan has already proposed one. That's why those who say Feldstein should resign if he disagrees with Administration policy miss the point. Feldstein agrees. It's Reagan who disagrees, or pretends to, in a brilliant feat of political legerdemain.

REAGAN'S second lie is that continuing huge deficits are the fault of a recalcitrant Congress, which refuses to cut spending. John Berry of *The Washington Post* reported last week that the budget Congress approved for fiscal 1984 is only $1.17 billion bigger than the one Reagan submitted. There was some very minor juggling of domestic and military spending, but the $200 billion deficit was just about exactly what Reagan requested.

More important, Reagan has never proposed enough spending cuts to balance the budget, even in the distant future. A chart prepared by Feldstein makes this clear. It predicts the general shape of the budget every year through 1988. Assuming a buoyant economy by that time, and current spending plans, Feldstein foresees a $210 billion deficit. Another column on the chart, labeled "Administration Policy," is the 1988 budget if the Reagan Administration gets every change it wants between now and then. This column shows a deficit of a mere $82.2 billion. About half the improvement, though—$61 billion—is that now-you-see-it, now-you-don't tax increase. Even if Congress goes along with every additional spending cut Reagan plans to request between now and 1988, and even if the economy is booming, without new taxes there will *still* be a deficit of almost $150 billion, according to the Administration's own figures.

Lately Feldstein has been trying to re-ingratiate himself with his employer by pointing out in speeches that "nearly two-thirds of the current structural deficit was inherited from the Carter Administration." What this means is that if it weren't for the recession we're still coming out of, Reagan's current deficit would only be half again larger than Carter's deficit in fiscal 1980. This is a devastatingly modest claim. By the same tortured calculation, Carter actually *reduced* the structural deficit by a quarter, from 2.7 percent of gross national product "inherited" from Gerald Ford in 1976 to 2.2 percent in 1980. Reagan has raised it to 3.4 percent.

What's worse, this comes despite Reagan's historic reversal of trends in spending for social welfare. Feldstein's second great offense against Reagan mythology has been to make clear that domestic spending is not to blame for the increasing chunk of the economy being swallowed by the federal deficit. Under changes in law *already enacted*, the share of G.N.P. taken by social programs other than Medicare and Social Security will have dropped from 9.3 percent in 1980 to 6.3 percent in 1988. This is about the level of the early 1960s. In other words, apart from Medi-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

care, we're back to where we were before the Great Society. Even including Social Security and Medicare, domestic spending under current law will have dropped from 15 percent of G.N.P. in 1980 to 13 percent in 1988. Defense, by contrast, will have increased from 5.3 percent of G.N.P. to 7.7 percent, and revenues will have dropped from 20 percent to 19.5 percent. A bit of subtraction, and here we sit.

FELDSTEIN'S NUMBERS constitute the temptation for the Democrats, and also the trap. Having beaten Reagan over the head with this chart, how do they propose to rewrite it? There are only two ways: cut spending or raise revenues.

The gap that needs to be closed is $210 billion in 1988, or 4.2 percent of G.N.P. Cut defense spending? Holding defense to its current share of G.N.P. (6.9 percent)—a proposal few leading Democrats would be dovish enough to support—gets you less than one-fifth of the way there. Even cutting defense back to its share in the bad old Carter days would close less than half the gap. There is no way to make a serious dent in the deficit by spending cuts without more deep chops in domestic programs. Medicare is the most logical target. Its share of G.N.P. is expected to rise from 1.2 percent in 1980 to 2 percent in 1988. But for a politician, the thought of publicly attacking Medicare takes most of the fun out of Reagan-bashing over the deficit.

The two leading Democratic Presidential candidates have already fallen into the biggest trap on the revenue side of the ledger. Both Walter Mondale and John Glenn have come out for delay or repeal of tax-bracket indexing, the only part of Reagan's tax cut that hasn't taken effect yet. It's due to start next year. Without indexing, inflation pushes people into higher tax brackets even if their real incomes don't increase. It's tempting, because the government gets extra revenues without an official tax increase. But repeal of indexing is a ludicrous stand for Democrats to take. Indexing is the tax break for *their* constituency.

Feldstein's figures show that despite Reagan's alleged tax cuts, the share of G.N.P. coming to the federal government in taxes has stayed at about 20 percent. That's because of "bracket creep" and because Reagan's cuts, which favored top brackets and income from capital, were offset by large increases in Social Security taxes, which fall only on wages up to middle-class levels. Most potential Democratic voters haven't gotten any tax cut. This powerful political message will be hard for Democrats to put across, though, if Republicans can accuse them of wanting to reinstitute bracket creep: a middle-class tax that barely affects the rich (because they are already in the top bracket), and doesn't affect corporations at all.

If political courage were in greater supply, there would be plenty of ways to help bring the budget into balance without being unfair, or risking our national security, or damaging the economy. (There were a few suggestions in the TRB column of October 10.) But all these ledger calculations reflect the same fallacy Samuelson attributes to the old fogies around the clubhouse—thinking of the government like a family in debt. If the real problem is finding more capital for productive investment, then the proper focus is on all government policies that affect the supply of and demand for capital. In this, the budget itself plays a surprisingly small role.

For example, the personal interest deduction will cost the government $36 billion in 1984. But by encouraging people to borrow money for consumption, it will drain far more than that from the capital markets. According to Lester Thurow in the December 22, 1983, *New York Review of Books*, private consumer borrowing eats up two-thirds of private savings in this country. Three steps forward, two steps back. Reducing or eliminating this subsidy could have a huge payoff.

By contrast, cutting Medicare by reforms such as raising the deductible may be largely self-defeating. This will reduce the federal deficit, but if people pay the difference out of their savings, the supply of capital will be reduced by an equal amount. (And if people *can't* pay the difference out of their savings, that's a good reason for pause.) Only by using its power as a large buyer and regulator to reduce health care costs can the government hope to direct significant sums away from this form of consumption and toward productive investment.

Then there is government spending that actually increases private consumption spending, such as the ludicrous farm price support system that costs us billions both as taxpayers and as consumers. Phasing it out would reduce government costs and leave also more money in family budgets, some of which would get saved.

At little or no apparent cost to itself, the federal government guarantees or actually provides loans to individuals and companies for various purposes such as new housing, encouraging exports, aiding small business, and coddling farmers even more. The Congressional Budget Office estimates that by 1988 such government-sponsored borrowing will be absorbing new capital at a rate of $134 billion a year. That's almost two-thirds of the expected budget deficit. These policies don't get nearly the scrutiny that direct federal spending gets, yet they are precisely the same drain on capital markets.

FINALLY, on a more positive note, Democrats shouldn't be afraid to note that a lot of government spending *is* productive investment. The proper analogy is not to a family but to a business. A business is not "living beyond its means" if it borrows money for investment that generates a higher return than the cost of credit. According to the General Accounting Office, almost a fifth of the 1982 federal budget—about $135 billion—was spent on capital investments, narrowly defined. This includes construction and repair of the nation's infrastructure, scientific research and development, and education and training. Our future prosperity depends on these investments just as much as on private outlays, and it is foolish to skimp on them just because they are paid for by the government.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The biggest spender of them all.

REAGAN'S BANKRUPT BUDGET

BY DANIEL PATRICK MOYNIHAN

IN HIS FIRST thousand days in office Ronald Reagan increased the national debt of the United States by half. If he should serve a second term, and the debt continues to mount as currently forecast by the Congressional Budget Office, the Reagan Administration will have nearly tripled the national debt. In eight years, one Republican Administration will have done *twice*, you might say, what it took 192 years and thirty-eight Federalist, Democratic, Whig, and Republican predecessors to do once. The numbers are so large they defy any ordinary effort at comprehension (a billion minutes ago St. Peter was fourteen years dead), but for the record they are as follows. On President Reagan's inauguration day, January 20, 1981, the national debt stood at $940.5 billion. In the next thirty-two months, $457 billion was added. The projected eight-year growth is $1.64 trillion, bringing us to a total debt, by 1989, of $2.58 trillion.

Debt service, which is to say interest on the debt, will rise accordingly. It came to $75 billion in fiscal year 1980. By the end of this fiscal year, it will be something like $148.5 billion. And so it might also be said that the Reagan Administration will have doubled the *cost* of the debt in four years.

A law of opposites frequently influences the American Presidency. Once in office, Presidents are seen to do things least expected of them, often things they had explicitly promised not to do. Previous commitments or perceived inclinations act as a kind of insurance that protects against any great loss if a President behaves contrary to expectation. He is given the benefit of the doubt. He can't have wanted to do this or that; he must have *had* to do it. President Eisenhower made peace, President Kennedy went to war; President Nixon went to China.

Something of this indulgence is now being granted President Reagan. Consider the extraordinary deficits, $200 billion a year, and continuing, in David Stockman's phrase, as far as the eye can see. This accumulation of a serious debt—the kind that leads the International Monetary Fund to take over a third world country's economic affairs (or in olden times would lead us to send in the Marines to collect customs duties)—is all happening without any great public protest, or apparent political cost.

Daniel Patrick Moynihan, the senior United States Senator from New York, is a member of the Senate Finance and Budget Committees.

As such, this need be no great cause for concern. If Ronald Reagan is lucky, good for him. There is little enough luck in the business. But, unfortunately, something much larger is at issue. If nothing is done, the debt and the deficit will virtually paralyze American national government for the rest of the decade. The first thing to be done, to use that old Marxist terminology, is to demystify the Reagan deficit.

If I may say so, what I now write, I know. That is not and should not be enough for the reader. I will ask to be judged, then, by whether the proposition to be presented is coherent, and whether any other proposition makes more sense.

The proposition is that the deficits were purposeful, that is to say, the deficits for the President's initial budgets. They were thereafter expected to disappear. That they have not, and will not, is the result of a massive misunderstanding of American government. This is not understood in either party. Democrats feel uneasy with the subject, one on which we have been attacked since the New Deal. Republicans are simply uncomprehending, or, as Senator John Danforth of Missouri said in a speech on the debt ceiling in November (referring to the whole Senate, but permit me an inference), "catatonic."

Start with the campaign. Although we may be forgiven if we remember otherwise, as a candidate, Mr. Reagan did not propose to reduce federal spending. Waste, yes, that would be eliminated, but name a program, at least one of any significance, that was to go. To the contrary, defense spending was to be considerably increased. That was the one program issue of his campaign. It was the peculiar genius of that campaign that it proposed to increase defense expenditures while cutting taxes. This was the Kemp-Roth proposal, based on Arthur Laffer's celebrated curve. As a candidate, Mr. Reagan went so far as to assert that this particular tax cut would actually increase revenues.

What follows is crucial: no one believed this. Obviously a tax can be so high that it discourages the taxed activity and reduces revenue. This is called price elasticity and is a principle that applies to pretty much everything from the price of THE NEW REPUBLIC to the price Justice Holmes said we pay for civilization. But any massive reduction in something as fundamental as the income tax was going to bring about a massive loss of revenue. And this was intended.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

There was a hidden agenda. It came out in a television speech sixteen days after President Reagan's inauguration, when he stated, "There were always those who told us that taxes couldn't be cut until spending was reduced. Well, you know we can lecture our children about extravagance until we run out of voice and breath. Or we can cut their extravagance by simply reducing their allowance." The President genuinely wanted to reduce the size of the federal government. He genuinely thought it was riddled with "waste, fraud, and abuse," with things that needn't or shouldn't be done. He was astute enough to know there are constituencies for such activities, and he thought it pointless to try to argue them out of existence one by one. He would instead create a fiscal crisis in which, willy-nilly, they would be driven out of existence.

IF HIS understanding of the government had been right, his strategy for reducing its size would have been sound. But his understanding was desperately flawed. There is waste in the federal budget, but it is of the kind generic to large and long-established enterprises. Thus we have an Army, a Navy, and an Air Force. They compete, they overlap, they duplicate. Well, yes. But they also fight, in no small measure because these uniforms mean something to those men and women, and have, in the case of the Army and Navy (and of course the Marine Corps, which is part of the Navy) for more than two centuries. A management consultant might merge them. I sure as hell wouldn't, except perhaps way at the top. For the rest, well, there is the F.B.I. at $1 billion; the Coast Guard (equally long established) at $2.5 billion, and so on. Welfare? In the sense of welfare mothers? The Aid to Families with Dependent Children program comes in at about 1 percent of the whole budget. (*The Washington Post* has half-seriously proposed that it be abolished altogether so that people will stop talking about it.) There are areas in the budget where expenditure is indeed growing at enormous rates, principally that of medical care. But for the most part, and especially in the case of medical care, expenditure is growing at similar rates in both the private and public sectors. Large social forces are at work, not simply a peculiarly pathological tendency of government.

A notable area of miscalculation, or rather misinformation, among the Reaganites was that of foreign affairs. President Reagan has acted much as his predecessors have done in foreign affairs, and for the elemental reason that he is faced with much the same situations. Invariably, this has meant spending money. This fall the President had to plead with Congress to increase appropriations for the International Monetary Fund, something he cannot have expected ever to be doing, but there you are. As I write, the Kissinger Commission on Central America is no doubt drawing up a massive "Marshall Plan" for the area. Is there any doubt that in the next session the President will be pleading with Congress to increase this particular form of foreign aid? (Just as, had his supporters in the Senate been successful in blocking the Panama Canal treaties in the Carter years, he would be pleading today with the Senate to consent to their ratification.)

President Reagan's tax cut—the largest tax reduction in history—became law in August 1981. Critics, if they are members of Congress, typically must begin by explaining why they voted for the tax cut. I am one. (There were only eleven Senators who voted no.) I have an explanation, but no excuse.

After years of intense inflation and the accompanying "bracket creep" in the income tax, we did need to reduce personal tax rates. A year earlier, the Senate Finance Committee, controlled by the Democratic majority, had reported out just such a bill, but Mr. Carter's White House would not hear of it. This helped lose the Senate for the Democrats, but the lesson was not lost.

The great recession of 1981-82 made it painfully clear that the tax cut was too small for the first year, when a neo-Keynesian stimulus was in order. At the time, however, a bidding war broke out in the House, sending the parties into senseless competition to offer loopholes to special interests. The result was a tax cut much too large for the later years. Thus the $200 billion annual deficit. Again, no excuses from this quarter, but in the Democratic response to the President's televised speech of July 27, 1981, I did say, "In the last few days something like an auction of the Treasury has been going on . . . what this is doing is taking a tax cut we could afford and transforming it into a great barbecue that we can't afford. I would say to the President that some victories come too dear."

ENTER THE Federal Reserve Board which looked at the huge tax cuts in the midst of high inflation and decided to create an economic downturn. Of all the structural anomalies of American government, the arrangements for setting macroeconomic policy are the most perverse. Although fiscal policy (the amounts of money the government spends, receives, and borrows) is made through a painfully elaborate public process by an elected President and an elected Congress, monetary policy (the total amount of money in the economy and the cost of borrowing it) is made in secret by appointed officials. The Reserve Board tightened the growth of the money supply so strenuously that it actually declined in the third quarter of 1981. Real interest rates reached the highest levels in our nation's history, and the economy fell off the cliff. At the end of September 1981, the steel industry was operating at 74.5 percent of capacity; by the end of 1982, it was operating at 29.8 percent of capacity.

To be sure, the Fed does not control the precise money supply and cannot precisely determine interest rates. But it can set the direction and range for both, and this it did. Anyone who tried to dissent was soundly rapped. Its two dozen or so central bankers decided to bust the economy, and bust it they did. In a White House appearance in October 1982, Nobel Economist George Stigler used the term "depression" to describe the economy.

There is a tendency for any government to live beyond its income. The Reagan Administration transformed this temptation from a vice into an opportunity. Put plainly,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

under Ronald Reagan, big government became a bargain. For seventy-five cents worth of taxes, you got one dollar's worth of return. Washington came to resemble a giant discount house. If no tax would balance the budget, and no outlay would make it any worse, why try?

A boom psychology moved through government. Defense came first, from space wars to battleships—the latest defense appropriation reactivates the World War II-vintage *U.S.S. Missouri*. Hog wild is the only way to describe the farm program. Jimmy Carter left behind a $4 billion enterprise, somewhat overpriced at that and the object of incessant right-wing criticism. Whereupon the fundamentalists and their political brethren took over. Within thirty-six months they increased the annual cost of the farm program more than fourfold. Their most recent enthusiasm, signed into law by President Reagan, is a program paying dairy farmers not to milk their cows.

WHAT IS to be done? The economy is at stake. The country *can* bankrupt itself. According to the latest budget projections, prepared by the Congressional Budget Office under the impeccably conservative new director, Rudolph G. Penner (formerly of the American Enterprise Institute), the deficit for the six years 1984 to 1989 will come to approximately $1,339,000,000,000. In order to support and service this debt, the government will have to absorb more and more of the capital that is coming available in the nation's credit markets. Direct federal borrowing for the deficit and federally guaranteed loans absorbed 62 percent of all credit raised on the nation's financial markets this year, compared to an average absorption rate of 8.3 percent in the 1960s and 15.3 percent in the 1970s. This "crowding out" was not much felt, because few others were borrowing to invest. But when the day comes that business, consumers, and government all compete for the same funds, interest rates will go up, with predictable consequences.

Under these circumstances, the only thing a Republican Administration and a Republican Senate will be able to consider doing will be to revert to their original agenda: use the budget deficit to force massive reductions in social programs. This time they will be able to cite not mere illusions but necessity. Even if interest on the debt climbs to $200 billion a year, as now seems likely, presumably there will still be an Army, an F.B.I., and some kind of customs service and border control. What then will be left to cut?

Entitlements, or more precisely, Social Security.

The word is already the rage. There is scarcely a Republican member of the Senate who does not know that entitlements must be cut, and cut deeply. Many Democrats agree; almost none dissent. Remember, at least twenty Senators are millionaires, living at considerable social distance from those who would be most affected. It will be much the same in the House. The budget deficit in the year ahead will threaten any sustained recovery. The members of the House, as a rule, are not millionaires, but they know their street corners. The street corners will say, "Cut. Something must be done."

Cut back Social Security in desperation, and you abandon a solemn promise of the Democratic Party and of American society. This promise, once broken, will fracture a little bit of society. (Moreover, cutting Social Security will not improve the deficit problem. As Martin Feldstein, chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers, has noted, Social Security is funded by separate payroll taxes and contributes not a cent to the deficit.)

There is an alternative. There is the possibility of a historic compromise that can bring the now dominant branch of the Republican Party to grips with reality, while shaking the now dominant branch of the Democratic Party from its illusion that no one will listen to Republicans for very long. Such a compromise cannot await a change in the political culture. It must be negotiated. We need a structure, a forum in which negotiations can take place. A Presidential commission might be such a structure.

The National Commission on Social Security Reform—on which I served—would provide a model. It was established by President Reagan in December 1981, after Congress rejected his original plan to sharply reduce Social Security benefits. One point in particular is crucial. Alan Greenspan, who chaired the commission, adopted a simple rule: each member was entitled to his own opinion but not his own facts. Within a year Mr. Greenspan had established the facts, which showed that the problem was neither trivial nor hopeless. The commission as such could reach no agreement. But with the facts established, we put together a bipartisan legislative package last January in exactly twelve days.

THE BUDGET CRISIS presents a harder problem, but it can be approached in the same way. Martin Feldstein made a good beginning in a speech to the Southern Economic Association on November 21. He agreed with the Congressional Budget Office that by 1988 the deficit will absorb 5.1 percent of the nation's G.N.P. Of this, Feldstein noted, 2.4 percent will come from increased defense spending, 1.7 percent from the tax cut, and the remaining 1 percent from higher interest payments. The facts about the structural deficit flow readily from such quantification.

The members of the budget commission—representatives from the Administration, Congress, the Federal Reserve, and the Congressional Budget Office—would determine the actual effects of deficits on employment, real interest rates, capital formation, investment, and the prospects for vigorous economic growth. Then they would propose the steps to reduce the deficit, making certain that the burden of these reductions did not fall disproportionately on any economic or social group. Delaying tax indexing, reforming corporate tax law deductions and credits, cutting defense spending, and reducing farm price supports, among other proposals, would have to be considered. Medicare, secure in the short term, will be in deep trouble before the end of this decade. The deficit commis-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

sion must face up to this problem. Democrats should agree to do so in return for assurances that the Social Security agreement will be respected and that the Social Security trust fund will not be raided (the plain purpose of those who say entitlements are the problem).

Moreover, a solution to the deficit crisis will require more than adjustments in spending and taxation. It will demand change in the way we make fiscal and monetary policy and the way those policies are coordinated. Monetary policy and the operations of the Federal Reserve must be an integral part of any fiscal resolution. Nothing can be achieved without a joint monetary-fiscal effort to promote an expanding economy and an approach to full employment—a one percentage point drop in unemployment alone reduces the budget deficit by $30 billion.

But let's stop here. I have my own thoughts. The reader will have his or hers. On the final day of the last session of Congress, I introduced legislation to establish the National Commission on Deficit Reduction. Now, can we get the President to join?

Proposals for a Democratic solution.

BUDGET GRIDLOCK

BY BRUCE BABBITT

THE CONGRESSIONAL budget process is beginning to resemble gridlock on a hot Manhattan afternoon: the traffic cops are helpless, the drivers are angry and frustrated, and it seems to get worse each year. In simpler and less acrimonious times, Congressional leaders could usually break a budget impasse and satisfy their constituents by spending a little more money. Most members, liberal and conservative alike, were reconciled to lubricating compromises with appropriations. The easygoing quality of those days was best captured by Everett Dirksen twenty years ago: "A billion here, a billion there, and pretty soon you're talking about real money."

But nowadays the traditional politics of budget addition is not working so well. In the face of a $200 billion deficit, public resistance to tax increases, and an implacable President, the rate of domestic spending is slowing. The old politics of addition is yielding to a new politics of subtraction, in which allocating more money for one constituency will require taking an equivalent amount from another. This change has revolutionary implications for the future of the Democratic Party.

The social advances of the New Deal and the Great Society were achieved without hard choices, for they were financed by simply expanding the government share of that vast economic pie known as the gross national product. Eventually, however, there will be a practical limit to the expansion of government spending as a percentage of G.N.P. Consider the numbers. In 1930, at the coming of the New Deal, total spending by federal, state, and local governments consumed about 10 percent of the gross national product. By 1950, spending had more than doubled, to 22 percent of G.N.P. And by 1982 it had nearly doubled again, to 38 percent of G.N.P., consuming well over a third of all goods and services produced in the American economy. If the growth rate of the past fifteen years were projected forward in a straight line, government would devour 100 percent of G.N.P. in the year 2040. We are approaching a great fiscal barrier reef; social reform will soon be attainable only by reordering priorities and eliminating or reducing existing commitments.

The President and his budget director, David Stockman, have become astute and zealous practitioners of the politics of subtraction. They have clear priorities and are asserting them relentlessly. Programs assisting the poor have been slashed or eliminated to make way for increased military spending. Job training and employment programs have been cut by 50 percent, education by 30 percent, and low-income assistance programs by 12 percent. At the same time, subsidies for middle- and upper-income Americans have scarcely been touched, and in many cases actually increased. Mike Royko summed up the Reagan priorities best when he said, "It's a lot easier to take from the poor than from the rich."

The "fairness" issue was quickly identified by Democrats, but so far it has not been effectively exploited. Their dilemma is tangled up with the new realities of the budget process, exemplified by the emerging differences between House Speaker Tip O'Neill and the freshmen Democrats. If Democrats mean to develop the fairness issue, they must either accept O'Neill's solution—to resurrect the old politics of addition by increasing expenditures and raising

Bruce Babbitt is the Governor of Arizona.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

taxes—or develop a countervailing philosophy of budget priorities that will allow us to slice the existing governmental pie more equitably.

There is scant reason to expect public support for a large-scale return to the old order. The alternative to an ever larger allocation for the public sector is to restructure the existing share on the assumption that government spending is not likely to increase much as a percentage of G.N.P., whoever the President may be. Redividing the existing public sector share has traditionally been considered tantamount to political suicide. Every elected official believes in his heart that a benefit once conferred, whether tobacco subsidy, food stamps, student loan, or depletion allowance, is soon viewed as an inalienable right—to be tampered with at great peril. Nonetheless, today's rules are not an immutable guide for tomorrow.

THE LODESTAR of progressive budget control is the means test. Means testing embodies the principle that government assistance should be conditioned on a showing of actual need. In recent decades this fundamental limiting concept has been eroded as constituency groups, rich and poor alike, have successfully claimed their share of federal largesse in the form of depletion allowances, pension benefits, farm subsidies, mortgage deductions, and a myriad of other entitlements and subsidies.

The means test survives today mostly in a small part of the federal budget known as grants-in-aid to state governments. The grants-in-aid, constituting less than 10 percent of the federal budget, go to support state administered programs targeted at the poor such as Medicaid, welfare, food stamps, compensatory education, and child nutrition. It is here, in that small portion of federal spending already limited by the means test, that the President has concentrated his harshest rhetoric and deepest cuts.

The other and larger part of the domestic budget consists of the non-means-tested entitlement programs administered directly by the federal government. They include Social Security and Medicare (available to virtually all Americans over 65 without regard to need), farm subsidies, unemployment compensation, and countless others. These entitlement programs are five times as large as the means-tested poverty programs; they consume 40 percent of the federal budget. Social Security, a $175 billion program, costs fifteen times as much as the entire food stamp program. Medicare, a $60 billion program, costs nine times as much as the federal share of the Aid to Families with Dependent Children program. Yet the President is scarcely heard to talk about being frugal in this sector of the budget. The fact is that millions of Americans in this entitlement "safety net" have no need at all for government assistance.

A true means test for entitlement programs would limit benefits of any kind to persons whose tax return shows an adjusted gross income of less than, say, $50,000 per year. If an absolute means test appears a bit too radical, a more modest approach would be simply to subject entitlement payments to the federal income tax. If entitlements were taxed—and many are not—the progressive nature of the income tax would reduce by 50 percent benefits paid to high-income recipients. There would be little or no reductions for low-income recipients.

The recent history of Social Security reform provides a striking example of how an idea, previously considered taboo for politicians, can be enacted into law. Taxing Social Security benefits was first proposed by a Presidential commission back in 1978. Frightened by the very thought, the House of Representatives condemned the report by a vote of 378 to 0. Just three years later, in 1981, the President appointed the Greenspan Commission to look at the problem. Its final report included a taxation proposal that passed Congress last March without serious controversy. The experience suggests that progressive entitlement reforms, properly developed, can be enacted.

The other obvious candidate for a means test is Medicare, whose costs are escalating at 20 percent a year. At this rate, by 1990, the Congressional Budget Office says, Medicare's deficit will be as high as $300 billion. Major legislative modifications are inevitable. One reform would be to subject Medicare to an outright means test. Or Medicare payments to doctors and hospitals could be subjected to the federal income tax just like Social Security payments. The idea seems unusual, probably because Medicare is an "in-kind benefit"; that is, recipients never see the money. These objections, however, are easily met by simply structuring an exemption to assure that taxes would be payable only if disposable income exceeded a specified threshold. As with Social Security payments, the progressive income tax would protect low-income recipients while providing a 50 percent reduction of Medicare outlays for high-bracket taxpayers, saving billions of dollars in the process.

ANOTHER progressive approach to containing Medicare costs would be to institute progressive co-payments. Characteristically, President Reagan wants to do just the opposite. Last spring he proposed to double the annual Medicare co-payment premium from $200 to $400 annually, and to triple the physician care co-payment premium from $200 to $600 annually for all Medicare recipients, needy and affluent alike. His proposal would cut costs by subjecting all Medicare recipients to uniformly higher charges without regard to their ability to pay. The savings that the President seeks (about $1 billion annually) could be effected more equitably by imposing a higher co-payment for people whose adjusted gross income exceeds $20,000 per year and sparing low-income recipients from further hardship. One approach aims to ravage; the other targets benefits for those who are truly in need.

Perhaps the most noteworthy and least noticed example of an entitlement program specially tailored to the affluent is the Payment in Kind farm subsidy program. PIK payments incorporate a reverse means test; they are handed

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

out on a per-acre basis without regard to need. The bigger the farm, the larger the payment. This year the PIK program cost $21 billion (twice the federal contribution to all A.F.D.C. welfare programs in the fifty states) and half that sum went to the largest (and presumably wealthiest) 10 percent of individual and corporate farmers. In my own state, an analysis done by the *Arizona Daily Star* showed that Arizona farmers received an average PIK payment of $69,200 (the average annual welfare payment for a family of four in Arizona is $3,263). One Arizona farmer received a check for $908,900. Economists calculate that the PIK program will add an average of $300 to the family food bill, an extra cost that has the same regressive impact as a sales tax.

It wasn't always so lush out on the farm. During the Carter Administration, farm subsidies were means tested and limited to farmers earning less than $50,000 per year. In those years farm subsidies cost about one quarter of what they do today.

The tax-expenditure budget is another big-time candidate for progressive budget control. A tax expenditure, stripped of its technical definitions, is a tax loophole. And by forgoing the collection of taxes from a given interest group, the government provides a benefit identical to putting a check in the mail. In 1983 tax expenditures amounted to $250 billion, nearly one-third of the total direct federal outlays in the regular budget.

THE CUMULATIVE effect of the Reagan tax and budget changes of the last three years has been to increase tax expenditures, which provide maximum benefits for corporations and upper-bracket taxpayers. Any benefit conferred by a tax exemption is twice as valuable for a 50 percent-bracket taxpayer as for a 25 percent-bracket taxpayer—and of no value at all to an impoverished family that has no tax liability. Congress has traditionally viewed tax expenditures as the equivalent of Monopoly money and passed them out with abandon. They are voted through a single committee (Ways and Means in the House, and Finance in the Senate), a procedure that bypasses most hurdles required for direct appropriations. For all these reasons, the Reagan Administration has used tax expenditures as a convenient way of subsidizing its allies while masquerading as a champion of shared sacrifice.

Consider the case of the dividend exclusion for electric utility stock dividends. No member of Congress, not even the most fervent supply-sider, would care to advocate that electric utilities and their shareholders get direct cash subsidies from the federal government. Yet last year, in the midst of another round of austerity for human services programs, Congress did just that, presenting a $670 million gift to utilities and their stockholders by exempting from taxation all dividends reinvested in utility stocks.

The biggest tax expenditure of all is also the most sacred: the homeowner mortgage interest deduction. The deduction is a $30 billion subsidy reserved for those who own homes (the imputed rental value of which is also tax exempt). The inner-city family which rents, it need hardly be pointed out, receives no such deduction and is fully taxed on the income from which it pays rent.

Within limits, the mortgage interest deduction serves a salutary national policy of encouraging home ownership. But why shouldn't the deduction be limited to just one residence on the assumption that anyone fortunate enough to own a condominium in Aspen doesn't need help from Uncle Sam? Or why not a "mansion cap" limiting the interest deduction to a generous figure above which owners would be presumed competent to build a dream house without a subsidy from the rest of us?

Utility dividends and homeowner subsidies are just two arbitrarily chosen examples. Anyone interested in reform can compile one's own list from the detailed tables in a 1982 C.B.O. study entitled *Tax Expenditures: Budget Control Options and Five-Year Budget Projections for Fiscal Years 1983-1987*. Among my favorites are exclusion of income earned abroad by United States citizens ($1.3 billion), capital gains treatment of certain timber income ($600 million), safe harbor leasing ($5 billion), capital gains basis at death ($4 billion), and deferral of tax on shipping companies ($85 million).

THE PROBLEM, as Robert B. Reich says in *The Next American Frontier*, is that "Liberal governments—trying to be all things to all people, leery of engaging the public in the uncomfortable process of political choice—have ended in predictable deadlock." If liberals do not set priorities, reactionaries will—and in fact they already have. The choices are not easy: child nutrition versus housing, welfare versus highways, cancer research versus a space station. One is always tempted to avoid the issue by casting the choice as people programs versus military spending—teacher salaries against the MX missile, medical care against the B-1 bomber. Certainly the welfare versus warfare issues must be part of the discussion, but the debate cannot end there. It is worth recalling that military expenditures in the Kennedy Administration added up to 9 percent of G.N.P., and that today, even with the Reagan increases, military expenditures remain below the Kennedy level at 7 percent of G.N.P. Comparisons will have to be made among all programs.

Some will object that any plea for Americans to share equitably in budget austerity is doomed to fail before the resistance of entrenched interest groups, and that the proper function of a political party is to protect its constituency while carving benefit reductions from the hide of the opposition. President Reagan has shown how to do that, and in the process he has revealed himself as just another opportunistic and highly partisan politician. Democrats can do better if they will forsake the political trap of evading choices by proposing to spend more, and talk instead of how all Americans might respond to an equitable plea for restraint in the common good.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

STANLEY KAUFFMANN ON FILMS

Remake and Reminder

Some pictures are bad before they are made. Before the scripts are written or cast, the very idea of making them is bad. This is often true of remakes, and it's utterly true of Mel Brooks's remake of *To Be or Not to Be*. From the time it was announced until the moment the screening was over, the same question plagued me: why?

To Be or Not to Be
(Twentieth-Century Fox)

Ernst Lubitsch made *To Be or Not to Be* in 1942, when the Allied situation in World War II was not bright and Poland's situation was especially bleak. A number of pap-curdled critical minds were offended by a comedy set in German-occupied Poland, and since Lubitsch could have foreseen that response, he had to be credited with courage and clarity of intent, in addition to his unique talents. To see the film in 1942, as I did, was to see some jesting doubt cast on the steely, frightening power of the Hitler forces, a treat made all the more welcome because the script—by Edwin Justus Mayer from a story by Lubitsch and Melchior Lengyel—teased the Hitler image with the least military of ideas, the vanity and professional persistence of actors. Chaplin had already made *The Great Dictator*, which was valuable for more than the usual Chaplin reasons, but that film seemed the fulfillment of a fated obligation. Politics had produced a world-threatening monster who bore some facial resemblance to a world-loved comic genius; what else could the genius do but accept the duty that fate had laid on him? Lubitsch, a German Jew who had emigrated to Hollywood before Hitler arose, obviously wanted to use his own weapons against the monster. Those weapons were delicate sexual comedy and finely honed farce, and the very incongruence of those styles with the wartime situation presumably spurred Lubitsch on.

About *To Be or Not to Be*, François Truffaut, who venerates both the director and the film, wrote, "An hour later, or even if you've just seen it for the sixth time, I defy you to tell me the plot. . . . It's absolutely impossible." This statement, since echoed by others, is untrue. The plot has complications but no muddle; it is expertly engineered from beginning to cumulated end. My only quarrel with the film is the casting of the otherwise engaging Jack Benny as one of the most renowned Shakespearean actors in Poland. Benny is so obviously not what the film says he is that it hurts the credibility and wit of the story. Fredric March in the leading role (it was too late for John Barrymore) would have brought the picture close to perfection.

This casting flaw in the original is all that Brooks mends in his version. He alters the leading role from a famed Shakespearean actor to an all-round entertainer who, along with the other productions he presents with his co-star wife, sometimes puts on a solo *Highlights from Hamlet*. Thus he and Anne Bancroft get to do some song-and-dance numbers, in which they are good, and he can do his (terrible) Shakespeare excerpts as mere sops to his ego.

Our first sight of Brooks and Bancroft is on the stage of their Warsaw theater doing "Sweet Georgia Brown" with Polish lyrics. Between curtain calls, they squabble in Polish. Then a voice-over says that the film will discontinue the Polish, both actors sigh with relief, and the picture goes on in English. Brooks—called Bronski, which was the name of a secondary character in the Lubitsch script—plays well throughout the film: he understands revue-sketch acting, and he treats his role as a series of such sketches. Bancroft is much less skillful, and she sounds phony when she attempts glamorous grandeur. The story follows the original fairly closely. Every time Brooks reaches "To be or not to be" in his *Hamlet* excerpt, a handsome young officer rises from his seat and leaves the theater. It turns out that the officer is visiting Mrs. Bronski backstage during *Hamlet*; and this leads to a marital comedy that in turn leads, because the officer joins the Polish underground, to a plot against the German occupiers of Warsaw. The Jewish elements in the story are now more syrupy than they were; and the new script, by Thomas Meehan and Ronny Graham, tips its hat to Martin Sherman's play *Bent* by including a homosexual, Bancroft's dresser, who is forced to wear a pink triangle. (But the homosexual gags in the script are tasteless.)

There's no point in comparing the direction of this remake, done by a choreographer named Alan Johnson as his first film, with Lubitsch. The basic fault of this remake is not that Johnson is not Lubitsch, which no one could have expected, but that the timing of the film's appearance is poor. To make a black comedy-farce about German-occupied Poland in 1942 was, despite the mutton-headed protests, highly appropriate. To remake the film now seems desperately inappropriate. First, any relationship to Poland's present troubles is very far-fetched. Second, the flood of postwar anti-Nazi comedies has worn out the

FILMS WORTH SEEING

The Dresser. Albert Finney magnificent as an old actor pulling himself together for his last Lear. Tom Courtenay amusing and sad as his dresser. (Reviewed 12/12/83)

The Right Stuff. Well enough done. Most startling is the way this account of Chuck Yeager and the Mercury seven fits into aviation-fiction strophes. (11/14/83)

Terms of Endearment. Acutely written and acted. James L. Brooks's first film is funny, sharp, and moving about a young woman, her husband, her mother, and mother's lover. (12/26/83)

Yentl. Barbra Streisand's best performance, self-directed, as a Jewish girl in Eastern Europe, 1904, who dresses as a boy in order to enter a yeshiva. Good songs, ingeniously used. (12/19/83)

SK

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

subject of farcical Nazi-mockery past useful recall. Brooks's remake is neither belated safe vengeance like *Stalag 17*, of film and TV, nor a present-day anti-totalitarian comic slash of any depth. The subject is pointlessly exhumed; and the remake does nothing but exalt the original.

A more important reminder of Hitler. Lotte H. Eisner died on November 25 in a hospital near Paris at the age of 87. The only adequate obituary I have seen, by Lenny Borger in the November 30 *Variety*, noted her work as film historian and her significance to some modern German filmmakers. Her book, *The Haunted Screen*, is an invaluable commentary on the great German film era between 1919 and 1933. Her books on Murnau and Lang are indispensable, and the latter will be improved, according to Borger, when the full version is published next year. The first edition was cut.

Eisner was born in Berlin in 1896, earned a doctorate in art history, and, early in her career, was a theater critic. During this period she was a friend of Max Reinhardt and Bertolt Brecht. The subtitle of *The Haunted Screen* is *Expressionism in the German Cinema and the Influence of Max Reinhardt*: she understood the close relation between German film and theater in the 1920s, especially Reinhardt's theater. Frederic Ewen's biography of Brecht contains a description by Eisner of the playwright-poet in those days that is as vivid as any I know.

Eisner soon was attracted to film. In 1933 she had to move to Paris where she continued her writing about film. During the war, she spent some time in an internment camp; afterward, she continued to write and also was an important figure in the founding and development of the Cinémathèque Française. For thirty years, from 1945 to 1975, she was chief curator and, says Borger, "enriched the Cinémathèque's collection of rare documents, designs, and memorabilia through her regular expeditions throughout Europe."

In the last fifteen years or so, Eisner, still resident in Paris, became an almost hallowed figure to the new generation of German filmmakers. She contributed a voice-over commentary to Werner Herzog's *Fata Morgana* in 1970. In 1974, when Eisner was dangerously ill, Herzog went from Munich to Paris to visit her—and walked the five hundred miles as a testimony of his regard.

Clearly, to Herzog and his colleagues, she had become an emblem of the best in German culture that had survived the worst of German horrors.

Frederick Wiseman's laconic look at a lavish store.

NEIMAN-MARCUS, THE MOVIE

BY MARY-LOU WEISMAN

FREDERICK WISEMAN, creator of such prizewinning documentaries as *Titicut Follies* (1967) and *Hospital* (1970), casts his cold eye on another American institution, the store, in a film shown on most public television stations on December 14 (in Washington on the 17th). *The Store*, a two-hour color documentary, was filmed in Dallas at *the* store of stores, Neiman-Marcus.

In keeping with Wiseman's well-known sober style, his camera deadpans Neiman-Marcus, without narrative commentary. He shops the selling floor at a leisurely pace, as we might, capturing its customs and ceremonies: the back of a hand slid and held beneath the silky thigh of a sample nylon stocking, the turning of the ticket to reveal the price, the slap and slide of dresses sent along the rack from right to left, like beads on an abacus. We see fabulous jewels, a young black man contemplating leather boots. A tall slim saleswoman, so pretty and well dressed that she might be a model, chats and laughs with a customer about her choice of an evening gown. An elegantly dressed matron orders over one thousand dollars' worth of porcelain breakfast dishes without flinching. Her speech is slurred—or is it just decadent, rich Texan? Her manner is bemused hauteur. A young male clerk, with infinite patience, responds to her every command. The rich are indeed different from you and me. When they shop, they are treated with courtesy; even when they don't buy.

WISEMAN is scrupulously nonjudgmental. He is just taking inventory, scrutinizing another corner of the consumer world of fashion that he has visited before in his documentary *Model* (1980) and also in his only fictional film, *Seraphita's Diary* (1982), the story of one model's life. "You might say," he commented, "that my approach is novelistic rather than didactic." You might, but only if what you have in mind is one of those avant-garde novels in which plot and authorial perspective are elusive. In fact, his camera's eye seems neither harsh nor kind. It travels through the store, blinking open with the elevator doors, recording customers, salesclerks, buyers, and executives playing their roles in a desultory consumer drama. The result is a collage of coherent structure but no ostensible message. The film acts as a kind of litmus test of the viewer's own attitudes about that most indigenous of American behaviors—shopping. I kept testing acid.

"There's one word, the whole reason for it all," a Neiman-Marcus executive preaches early in the film to a conference room full of employees, "one grand purpose—sales. Neiman-Marcus is an institution created to make sales." He says "sales" the way Mr. McGuire in *The Graduate* says "plastics." This fresh-faced young executive is EST, Amway, Disneyland, and a parking lot full of Japanese autoworkers doing early morning calisthenics all rolled into one.

As the film progresses, we begin to feel the full weight of the young executive's grand purpose. Wiseman's camera goes where the ordinary shopper can't—into conference rooms where advertising decisions are made, into merchandizing meetings where "the Neiman-Marcus attitude in baked goods" is under discussion. His camera rides the escalators from the haute couturier salons where mannequins with faces of airbrushed *Vogue* perfection stalk, down to the basement where

Mary-Lou Weisman is a freelance writer and the author of *Intensive Care: A Family Love Story* (Random House).

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

heavy-set Mexican women with *National Geographic* faces sit in polyester slacks and wrap boxes. We soon learn there's a lot more to selling than meets the eye. The push-pull, "sign here, please" moment of purchase is the ultimate payoff, but the game of selling is at least as interesting and significant behind the scenes as it is out on the floor.

WHILE Neiman-Marcus keeps a full stock of merchandise, its real inventory is image. The image that is always for sale is Neiman-Marcus. It is the transcendent label, the ultimate catalog: where else, after all, can you buy a Noah's ark built exactly to God's specifications? It is not just the customers who are sold Neiman-Marcus. The sales people are sold Neiman-Marcus. The buyers are sold Neiman-Marcus. And, in the final scene of the documentary, a celebration of Neiman-Marcus's seventy-fifth anniversary, with Art Buchwald emceeing, Lady Bird Johnson smiling, and Stanley Marcus accepting ovations in its name, the consummate act of incestuous salesmanship is performed: Neiman-Marcus is sold Neiman-Marcus.

A late middle-aged woman, flaccid faced and thick of ankle, elegant purse resting on her plump lap, views a fashion show. Caucasian models, Watusi-tall and anorexic, their lips stung closed, as if they'd been eating alum, slouch past like Bryn Mawr girls. They are all slink and sequin glamour, these human hangers. They pivot. Their evening dresses are cut to the waist in the back, revealing a line up of vertebrae disciplined by yoga and yogurt.

Is she sold? We watch her face. Behind the impassive, cataracted expression of the unaccountably wealthy, is she successfully performing that extraordinary leap of faith, hope, and charity whereby she actually sees herself in that sequined dress and likes what she sees? But perhaps that's not the point. She may not be here today so much to buy as to be entertained. Neiman-Marcus, after all, is not a typical American store. It is an exemplary retail establishment. It is a store for the rich, where wealthy women dress up in their former Neiman-Marcus purchases and spend their leisure time. If they were hanging out in the middle-class malls which have sprung up around the country, they'd be mauled with the hoi polloi, herded into a dressing room, their hangers counted. At Neiman-Marcus they are coddled, feted, and entertained. Sooner or later, entertained is as good as sold.

"Sable is a Texas fur," says a salesman, appealing simultaneously to the precocious wealth and lone star chauvinism of the young man who is shopping for a jacket for his wife. The salesman dips and spreads the hem against the salon floor, the way a matador spreads his cape. This is all ceremony and they both know it. The man is going to buy the sable jacket. It is a matter of honor. He has roped his first steer, had his first woman, found his first oil well, made his first million, bought his first Cadillac, and now he must do right by the missus. The bull paws the dirt, but the camera leaves the arena before he charges.

"In order to sell, you have to develop a positive attitude, and in order to develop a positive attitude, you have to exercise," says a chic, young woman attempting to motivate a team of middle-aged salesladies before opening time. Still bed-warm and caffeine deprived, they try gamely to smile and wiggle their fingers in time to a recording of "The Flight of the Bumble Bee." They titter and hang back. I sense reluctance, a wearing thin of the participatory optimism that is the very spirit of Neiman-Marcus.

Upstairs, a trainer sits at a conference table with a group of newly hired buyers. He congratulates them upon being among the chosen few who ever achieve this "tremendously elitist position." He tells them that people will think "My God, if you're with Neiman-Marcus there's got to be something incredibly special about you." His voice grows hushed. Now he's going to show them something special because they are so special. Something he keeps for his favorite customers. An emotion. Four carats. Perfect. Look how it holds the light. Here it is. Listen: some people love Neiman-Marcus so much that they can remember the first day they were in the store—how they felt, what they were wearing—"just the way some people can describe to you the exact details of where they were on the day John F. Kennedy was assassinated."

NEW ZION, OLD ZION

Israel in the Mind of America
by Peter Grose

(Knopf, 361 pp., $17.95)

When Theodore Roosevelt named Oscar Straus to his cabinet as Secretary of Commerce and Labor, Jacob Schiff, banker and high panjandrum of German-American Jewry, threw a testimonial dinner. The President was the guest of honor, and he made a speech designed to reassure his listeners that Straus had been named for all the right reasons. "I did not name him because he was a Jew. I would despise myself if I considered the race or the religion of a man named for high political office. . . . Merit and merit alone dictated his appointment." These comforting remarks were warmly applauded. The only trouble was that no one bothered to tell Schiff what the President had said, and Schiff was deaf. So when he got up, he let the cat out of the bag: "Before making up his cabinet, President Roosevelt sent for me and informed me that he wished to appoint a Jew as a member of his cabinet and asked me to recommend the ablest Jew who would be most acceptable to my race. I recommended Oscar Straus. He was appointed, and he has more than justified the recommendation." The crowd, we are told, applauded nervously. Roosevelt stared into space.

That is what I call a good story because it holds a world in microcosm. It symbolizes the gap between ideal and practice, between saying and doing. It also encapsulates the American ethnic dilemma: are we to be a melting pot or a pluralistic society? Which comes first, who you are or what you can do? Peter Grose's book is full of such stories, focusing on "awkward ambivalences" between so-called national interest and special interests, between lofty aspirations and practical politics, between

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

particular and universal concerns.

Grose takes the record back to colonial America, to Peter Stuyvesant and his effort to exclude Jews from New Amsterdam as "hateful enemies and blasphemers of the name of Christ." Stuyvesant was overruled by his superiors in the old country, who were influenced by Jewish businessmen in Holland, among them merchants active in the West India Company and the Atlantic trade. Grose sees this as one more example of the perverse readiness of well-off ("respectable") Jews to defend their "less endowed relatives." "To Jews," he goes on, "solidarity was only natural, part of their age-old covenant." (Both God and Abraham would be surprised by this broad construction of their contract.)

> Proper authorities like Stuyvesant, seeking to suppress the distasteful elements, found their efforts thwarted by seemingly nefarious powers, financial and even political, pulling strings across oceans and national borders. For three centuries to come, many American Gentiles would be troubled about this strange class of citizens.

This, on page four. The remainder of Peter Grose's book is devoted as much to the weaknesses as to the strengths of Jewish solidarity.

Jews in America were divided early on—by national origin ("Portuguese," German, and East European Jews, some of whom affected a German origin because of two-stage immigration); by time of arrival (Sephardim first, then German Ashkenazim, and then an East European wave toward the end of the nineteenth century); along class lines ("Uptown Jews" and "East Side Jews"); by religious affiliation (orthodox, conservative, reconstructionist, and reform, to say nothing of apostate adherents of Ethical Culture, the Society of Friends, and Unitarianism, plus a variety of Marxist sects). Where Zionism, or the dream of a return to Zion, was concerned, these diverse elements of a unitary people were capable of ferocious disagreement.

Early manifestations of Zionism in the United States were religious in character and origin, Christian even more than Jewish. Christians were of two minds on the subject of Jewish national aspirations. There was a powerful and tenacious doctrine of a Jewish fall from grace consequent on the rejection of Jesus. In this theology the Jewish exile was precisely the punishment prophesied in the Bible: the people without a land was condemned to bear witness by its humiliation to the crime of deicide and the refusal of the new salvation. A conservative inference from this doctrine was the illegitimacy of Zionism: any restoration of the Jewish commonwealth in Palestine would be an affront to the church and a cosmic error. Linked to this was a potentially deadly indifference to the Jewish fate; Grose cites *The Christian Century*, a leading journal of American Protestantism:

> The Christian mind has never allowed itself to feel the same human concern for Jewish sufferings that it has felt for the cruelties visited upon Armenians, the Boers, the people of India, American slaves or the Congo blacks . . . . Christian indifference to Jewish suffering has for centuries been rationalized by the tenable belief that such sufferings were the judgment of God upon the Jewish people for their rejection of Jesus.

Yet another, more activist inference saw in Jewish nationalism an opportunity to hasten the Second Coming. Tradition had it that the return of the Jews to Zion was a necessary preliminary to a general conversion and salvation, so why not give the Messiah a little help? This position had strong appeal in the United States, reflecting a new sense of mission in opposition to Old World complacency. Thus John McDonald, Presbyterian minister in Albany in 1814: "Jehovah . . . dispatched swift American messengers to the relief of his prodigal children. Rise, American ambassadors, and prepare to carry the tidings of joy and salvation to your Savior's kinsmen in disgrace!"

Primacy of the theological persisted for most of the nineteenth century. European Jews, insofar as they were Zionists, were religious Zionists, prepared to wait indefinitely. Most American Jews, less observant than their forebears, reacted with indifference to occasional bursts of Zionist zeal within or without the Jewish community. Zionism was fine for those who needed it, but American Jews had found a new Zion in the New World, and old aspirations no longer applied. This became the canon of American Reform Judaism under the leadership of Rabbi Isaac Mayer Wise, born and trained in Germany but enthroned in Cincinnati and assimilated to the pragmatic values of middle America. "This country is our Palestine, this city our Jerusalem, this

THE 1984 CALENDAR

An American History

created by Howard Levine and Tim Keefe
essay by Nat Hentoff

- A day by day history of the increasing erosion of civil liberties in the United States.
- Each month illustrated by an original B&W photograph of 1984 culture in American society.
- Each month opens to 17" × 34".

Please send me _____ 1984 Calendars at $10.95 each.

Total enclosed is $ ___ . ___ in check or money order payable to: **Point Blank Press, Ltd.**, P.O. Box 30123, Lansing, MI 48909.

Charge to my ☐ VISA ☐ MasterCard

Charge Card # _____

Expiration Date _____

Signature _____

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

"The political calendar for 1984." - *In These Times*

"A piece of grim humor that Orwell would have enjoyed." - *Bernard Crick* (George Orwell's biographer)

November

1

1963–Diem coup successful. (see June 30)

1972–The *Washington Post* reports on White House study requiring "manufacture and installation of special FM receivers in every home radio and television set, boat and automobile, which could be automatically turned on by the government to contact every citizen, whether awake or asleep," and called for "full coverage, 100 percent of the population."

1982–*Detroit Free Press* reports a Santa Clara, Ca., chief parole officer proposes attaching computers to parolees to monitor their whereabouts and also the use of electronic implants to control violent criminals.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

house of God our Temple," Wise proclaimed. "American and European Jews would not immigrate to Palestine, not even if the Messiah himself, riding upon that identical ass upon which Abraham and Moses rode [surely the world's oldest ass], would come to invite them."

This comfortable complacency remained the rule until the 1880s. It was in 1881 that a wave of anti-Semitic pogroms swept Russia—scenes of murder and rapine that evoked the massacres of the Middle Ages. The news shocked the civilized world; such things were not supposed to happen any more. In Western Europe and the United States, influential Jews asked their governments to bring pressure on Russia to end the persecution. But there was, then as now, a limit to what remonstrances could accomplish against the sacrosanct immunity of "internal" policy. For many Russian and Polish Jews, the best, indeed the only, remedy was flight; and fortunately for them, flight was still possible in the nineteenth century. For a small minority, the answer lay in a new secular Zionism in direct opposition to the messianic *attentisme* of old. Jews would never be safe, never be whole again, until they had their own country.

THE NEWS of the Russian pogroms was received by American Jews with appropriate outrage; but when East European Jews began immigrating in a flood, they found a less than warm welcome from their co-religionists. Grose tells us that the American Jewish community of 1881 had been called "perhaps the happiest community in the long history of the Dispersion." A prosperous, self-assured group, barely touched by signs of mounting anti-Semitism, homogeneous in background and style, assimilated to American ways almost to the point of invisibility, now found itself linked to poor, Yiddish-speaking newcomers, marked by dress and manners as different and by implication as un-American and inferior. Suddenly those like Wise who had always condemned Zionism found it an attractive ideology. He urged readers to contribute to a fund to send Rumanian Jews to Palestine and so "protect us here from an immigration too large and too expensive for the common good." "We think," he went on, "it is the best and cheapest thing we can do: . . . it liberates the oppressed . . . it carries European civilization into Asia; it protects us here against a class of immigrants we do not want." Had Grose looked at comparable establishment figures in European Jewry, he would have found a similar newborn zeal for Zionism—for others.

Zionism-for-others was more a charity than a political movement. In Europe, however, politics took command and built a growing pressure group for a territorial solution to Jewish aspirations. Theodor Herzl, the father of the new Zionism, was prepared to seek that territory anywhere—anywhere Jews could be masters in their own land. But this non-Zionist Zionism found little favor among the faithful, for whom there could be no Jewish land but Palestine. The decades around the turn of the century, then, were dominated by efforts to promote immigration to Palestine and to seek (through influence or purchase) Turkish approval for Jewish settlement and self-government. When World War I brought European powers into the area, the focus of lobbying efforts shifted to London and Berlin and yielded what in the long run proved the most important single document in the campaign for Zion—the so-called Balfour Declaration. This was nothing more than a personal note from Arthur James Balfour, His Majesty's secretary of state for foreign affairs, to Lord Rothschild, for Balfour the symbolic leader of British Jewry, expressing the commitment of the British government to the establishment of a Jewish "national home" in Palestine. Nothing but a note, and what, after all, was a national home? But this note was seen by Zionists and others as a constitutional document founding the right of the Jews to nationhood in their ancient home. By comparison with the zeal and activity of European Zionism, the American variety was pallid indeed.

MEANWHILE an anti-Zionist lobby took shape in the decade leading up to the 1920s. In the United States its active elements, almost from the start, were pro-Arab Protestant missionary groups and oil men. The Protestant interest went back to the middle of the nineteenth century and reflected the limitations and aspirations of American missionary efforts in an area where Moslems were off-limits. Conversion of Christians (Jews were obstinate) to new forms of Christianity gave way to education, and American Protestant missions soon established an important place for themselves as teachers to and partisans of a new nationalist Arab elite. It was this constituency that determined the politics of such influential men as Cleveland H. Dodge, "friend, financial mentor, and spiritual colleague" of Woodrow Wilson; and Howard Bliss, president and son of the founder of the Syrian Protestant College, later renamed the American University of Beirut.

The oil interest was younger. It rested on the new technology of the internal combustion engine, especially as used in naval vessels and automobiles. For the United States, Middle Eastern oil became important only in the interwar years, when the major American refiners learned to compete effectively for concessions and got their first intimations of the mineral wealth of the area.

THE CONJUNCTION of these two special interests did much to define the national interest in what was then still known as the Near East. It found a ready response in the State Department, where a new class of professionals, "civilized" young men, "the most elite of the elite," lived "a life of comfort and composure," and learned to handle with chilly distaste the tribulations of such unprepossessing troublemakers as Jewish victims of Polish, Russian, or other varieties of anti-Semitism. The Foreign Service would have called it disinterest, but in fact the atmosphere of what Martin Weil has called "a pretty good club" was permeated with a cruelly genteel anti-Jewish prejudice, nurtured in what all would agree were the "best places": the preparatory schools that trained the future Foreign Service officers; the rarefied salons of Boston's Back Bay; the earnest faculty clubs of America's best universities; the social clubs of New York and Washington. (The stories that Grose recounts of such luminaries as James Russell Lowell and Henry Adams are salutary reminders of the ubiquity and virulence of this bias.)

At the same time, Grose depicts the "zealots" of Zionism as uncommonly trying. This they surely were, not only because they lacked some of the social graces so prized in State Department circles, but because their sense of commitment, urgency, and then outrage made them desperate. This crescendo of emotion was triggered by the accession of Hitler to power in Germany and

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

mounting evidence of impending disaster. (Grose notes, however, that not all Jews were ready to face up to the reality of a Nazi regime. The Uptown Jews, of German origin, remained characteristically calm and high-minded. One of the Warburgs wrote a friend in 1932 that "even if the Hitlerites should get into power, the moment responsibilities rest on their shoulders and they are in the government, they will sober down, just as much as the Communists have in Russia and the Laborites have in England.")

Once war came to Europe, American Jews found themselves struggling not only against a hostile, malevolent bureaucracy determined to make rescue as hard as possible, but against an indifferent public opinion that thought only to close the gates against those few refugees, even those few children, that were within reach of safety. One of the most vivid sections of the book is the account of Breckinridge Long, a monument of prejudice and hatred whose name will live in infamy. It was Long who had been appointed in 1939 to head the visa section of the State Department and who set as his primary goal the exclusion of aliens, especially those with relatives or other connections in Nazi Germany. Grose tells us that Long was anti-Semitic, but warns immediately that this "misses the point a little." After all, he notes, Long also hated Catholics, liberals, communists, Nazis (really?), New Yorkers, voters, indeed everyone of a background different "from the gentility of his own." I have always been baffled by this kind of argument, which the French like to make in extenuation of their own brand of anti-Jewish feeling: the French, one is told, dislike Arabs even more. That must come as meager consolation to the victims of this kind of multiple racism.

IN THE END, as we know, rescue efforts during World War II were too little, too late, and Jews everywhere were left with an abiding sense of guilt at not having done enough. This sense of failure was thereafter transmuted into an enthusiastic commitment to the Zionist cause. There was still, to be sure, a tenacious element in American Jewry that rejected the idea of a Jewish state in Palestine, but this was a small and rapidly shrinking minority. Even those Jews who had never manifested much support for the Zionist cause found it impossible to refuse their aid as the campaign for a Jewish state reached a climax. The American Council for Judaism, the newly created voice of the anti-Zionist establishment, became a byword for irrelevance, if not for betrayal.

As always, events were outstripping intentions. British General Sir Frederick Morgan, like some new Pharaoh, ominously warned that the Jews had "a positive plan to get out of Europe." (He also thought that they had "an organized plan for becoming a world force.") Jewish survivors in Europe began moving out of their concentration camps (known euphemistically as displaced persons camps) toward resettlement in Palestine. They were particularly anxious to get out of the British zone of occupation, because the British initially insisted on treating them not as Jews, but as Poles or Russians or Hungarians, and were determined to return them to their countries of origin. They also insisted on housing them in the meantime with Balts and Ukrainians—many of whom were collaborators and as viciously anti-Semitic as the Germans. (In the end, the British had their way with those who remained in their hands, the innocent as well as the guilty, returning most of them to death or imprisonment in the Soviet Union, beating them onto the trains in scenes reminiscent of Nazi roundups. The British explanation: they were obligated by international agreement. So much for contractual honor.)

OPPONENTS of Zionism accused the Zionists of fomenting and organizing this Jewish flight (they were), which upset the best laid plans of military administrators in Europe, to say nothing of British colonial officials in Palestine. These were determined to keep Jewish refugees out, even at the price of confining them in new concentration camps in Cyprus or Mauritius (a month-long trip around the Cape of Good Hope with disease for a shipmate would cool their ardor) or of sending them back to their camps in Europe. But there was strong spontaneous support for Zionism, born of hatred for erstwhile oppressors and despair at ever being able to re-establish Jewish communities in Central and Eastern Europe. Grose, who has much to tell us about the Anglo-American Commission of Inquiry, does not report its most shocking finding: that no one wanted the Jews back, except those democratic countries of Western Europe with established civil rights. The Austrians, while deploring the excesses of the Holocaust, said they had no room even for the fifteen thousand Austrian survivors; while Poles, Rumanians, and Slovaks made their point by attacking those Jews who dared to return to their villages.

So the Jews left without asking permission. This aspect of the story—the

PULPSMITH

is out to get you . . .

but you can't escape great ideas –

Naive Wave
Borges Cracks Kipling
MIT Prof: Stop Science!
Farrell on One-Nite Stands
Lite Verse "Armourized"
Assassination Fixation
Detective Lit Fits
Reproducing Universes
America's Bigness Kick
Love in Outer Space
Neanderthal Movement
Bob Lemon's Taoism
Foreign Docs Rock US Medics

a pocketful of magazine for readers with ideas of their own

save one buck: $7 — 4 issues
save three bucks: $13 — 8 issues

PULPSMITH
5 Beekman St.
New York, NY 10038

name
address
city state zip
Check enclosed $

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

politics of the fait accompli—is the missing element in Grose's account. He is very good on the interplay of American politics, and to a lesser degree on Anglo-American relations in this period (but that, strictly speaking, lies outside his topic). He is particularly informative and judicious in dealing with the mixed judgments and feelings of the two American Presidents who did most to decide the outcome. But he does little with the rush of action outside, which foreclosed options and short-circuited the established networks of communication and command. For example, much of his discussion and much of the subsequent attack on the legitimacy of Israel focuses on those political and diplomatic maneuvers that preceded and followed the vote in the U.N. Assembly in November 1947. It is clear, however, that whatever the vote, there would have been a Jewish state, just as there was an Arab assault on that state in spite of that vote. What mattered in the end was Ben-Gurion's determination, stimulated and justified by fear of a preemptive move by Begin and the Irgun. Against this the reservations of the more cautious representatives of the Jewish Agency (Moshe Shertok, Nahum Goldmann) could not avail. And once this decision was taken, what mattered was the fledgling state's ability to defend itself against invasion by all the neighboring Arab states. Israel's best friends had justified qualms on that score, the more so as an American embargo on arms shipments to the area (an early example of so-called even-handedness) deprived Israel of weapons while Arab governments were getting all they needed from the British, including that stock of war material stored in Palestine during the Mandate.

SO AMERICAN attitudes and political maneuvers were less important than they seemed to the participants, including pro- and anti-Zionists, at the time. Even so, they make a good story, summing up the past and predicting the future. Grose presents a large cast of players, some of them forgotten but worthy of recollection, if only for their fallibility. From the anti-Zionist side:

Max Thornburg, special assistant to Sumner Welles in the early war years, an oil company "mole" (the word is Grose's) who regularly reported on State Department policy discussions to his superiors in Standard Oil of California.

Arthur Hays Sulzberger, publisher of *The New York Times*, ready to "resign from the Jewish people" in protest against Zionism, who cautioned Roosevelt against appointing Felix Frankfurter to the Supreme Court on the ground that such a move would call attention to the Jews and provoke anti-Semitism.

Walter Lippmann, pundit extraordinaire, who could not understand why Britain and the United States could not "impose peace" on Arabs and Jews, for "among the really difficult problems of the world, . . . [their conflict was] one of the simplest and most manageable."

Judah Magnes, president of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, idealistic and passionate believer in a binational state of Arabs and Jews, convinced that a Jewish state could not survive Arab hostility and that with "another thirty years of upbuilding, together with compassionate immigration, Palestine can be ours—not by force of arms, not by force of statehood, not by conflict—but ours with cooperation." Up to the very end Magnes even wanted the United States to withdraw support from partition and impose financial sanctions against the Yishuv, as the Jewish community in Palestine was called. The State Department welcomed his every word and brought him to the United States in 1948 to influence American opinion—to no avail. This, says Grose, was one of twenty-six such moves by the State Department in the final weeks before British withdrawal from Palestine on May 15, 1948.

From the pro-Zionist side, a similarly memorable array:

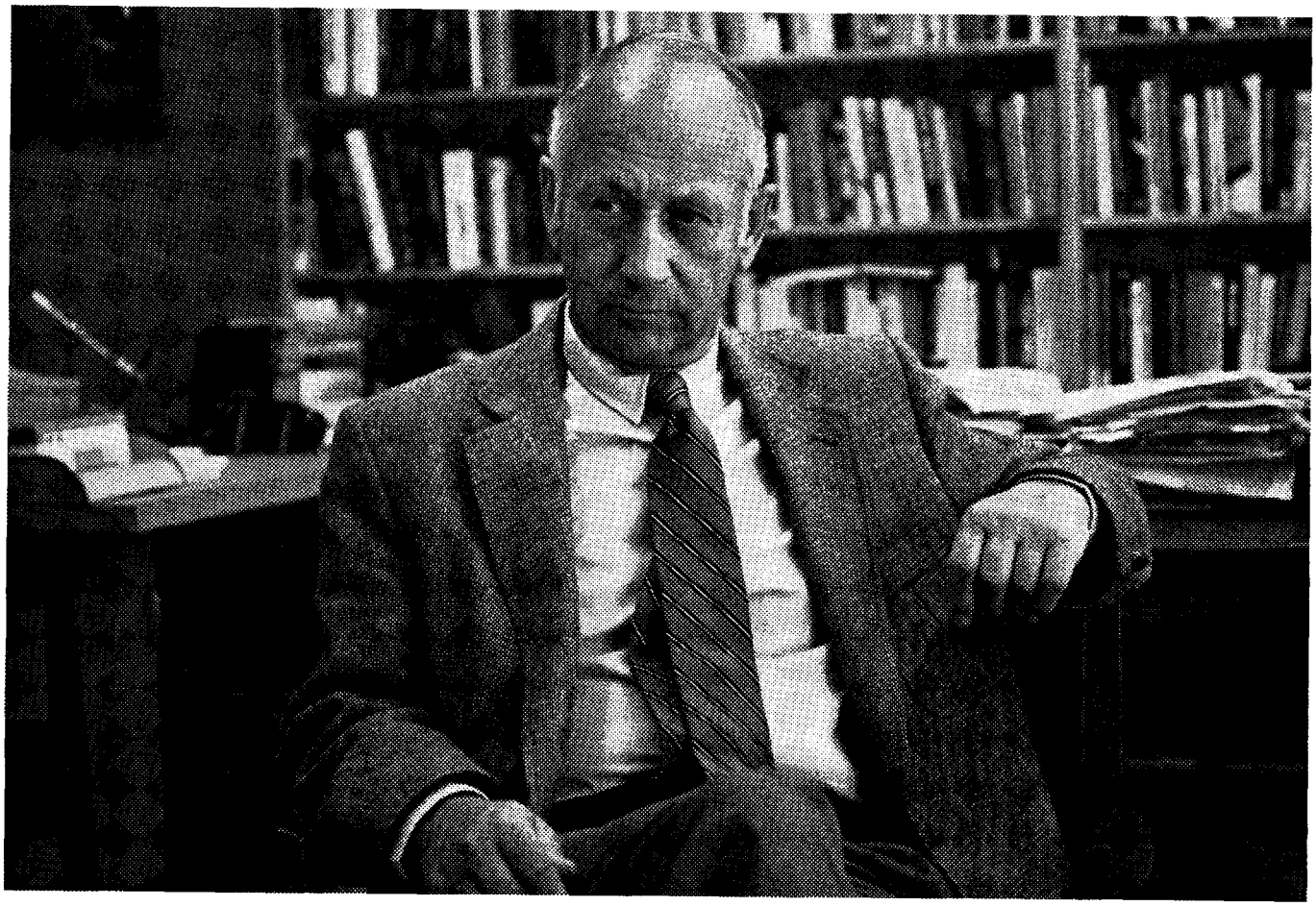
Rabbi Stephen S. Wise, born in Budapest, graduated from political progressive in Oregon at the turn of the century to spokesman for Reform Judaism in his own "Free Synagogue" on Central Park West. There he faced across the green that bastion of Uptown Jewry appropriately named Temple Emanuel (God is with us). Wise was big, physically and figuratively; and he thought himself above petty standards of dignity and taste. He visited Oberammergau, scene of a nastily anti-Semitic passion play, and tried on some costumes (including the crown of thorns)—thereby pleasing neither Christians nor Jews. Wise was ready in 1937 to propose settlement of Jewish refugees in Africa—reviving an old scheme of Herzl's, and alienating the European and Palestinian Zionist leadership. He had an affinity for no-man's land.

Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver, a fierce, tactless Boanerges, a Republican, a "hawk" who would not hear of compromise and was ready to pound on Harry Truman's desk to make his point. (Truman would never see him again.) Silver invariably stirred up hostile reaction, which he welcomed as evidence that he was "getting to" people. Needless to say, Wise and Silver could not abide each other.

David K. Niles (né Neyhus), political organizer, Democratic Party representative to ethnic minorities, White House administrative assistant under Harry Truman. In a thumbnail biography, Grose tells us that Niles, "Yiddish-speaking, poor and plodding, . . . nevertheless displayed the spunk to be admitted to the distinguished Boston Latin School"; that this "rootless high school graduate from the Boston slums" afterwards became involved in ventures with a "pushy" cinema producer named Sam Goldwyn; that he went on from business failure to liberal politics (the Ford Hall Forum in Boston, the Sacco-Vanzetti case, the Al Smith campaign); and that this "back-room operator," drawn to Rabbi Stephen Wise by common political loyalties and an unrequited admiration for Wise's daughter Justine, used his position on the White House staff to promote the Zionist cause in the crucial Truman years.

AS THE above quotations make clear, Grose's choice of words sometimes leaves something to be desired. Peter Stuyvesant seeks to "suppress the distasteful elements"; " 'respectable' Jews perversely insisted on defending their less endowed relatives, the humble and coarse, the rag peddlers and grinds"; poor Jews are "unkempt"; German-Jewish immigrants "occupied themselves in squalid secondhand shops" or "appeared as itinerant peddlers, shifty and rootless"; East European Jews "jabbered away in a loud and harsh dialect" (that is, Yiddish); and Weizmann "never lost the manner of the shiftless refugee." In Grose's defense, it should be noted that he is sometimes operating in indirect discourse: some of these are other people's observations, although Grose rarely makes this explicit. In the meantime, the anti-Zionists come off better, at least on the level of tone: Robert Lovett is marked by "hardheaded dedication" and James V. Forrestal is "hard-driving," whereas Zionist interests are

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



"For 40 years, I have looked to the Monitor for a well-rounded, unfrenzied, and knowledgeable view of the world. I have never been disappointed."

Norman Cousins, *currently Adjunct Professor, Department of Psychiatry and Biobehavioral Sciences, U.C.L.A. Formerly editor of the Saturday Review magazine.*

Professionally, he is an editor. Ideologically, he is an ombudsman for mankind. He's spent a lifetime challenging the forces and patterns that pull a world toward nuclear war. He's been outspoken in his warnings against pollution of the planet—and of the mind.

No wonder Norman Cousins has been honored with awards of highest distinction, including the United Nations Peace Medal. No wonder he is a supporter of a newspaper that itself has garnered important awards: The Christian Science Monitor.

"In the pages of The Christian Science Monitor, I have found facts concerning significant progress in the world that I have not seen elsewhere.

"The Christian Science Monitor gives substance to the belief that people need not be condemned to feelings of helplessness. In so doing, it becomes more than a newspaper; it becomes a vital resource for people who believe in the idea of progress and who respect the rights and needs of later generations."

If you're looking for a newspaper that's a vital force on the side of human progress, look into The Christian Science Monitor.

It's easy to subscribe by phone:
A toll-free call will start your Monitor coming every weekday. Only $25.50 brings you a 3-month subscription: more than 60 informative issues. Call 1-800-225-7090. (In Massachusetts, Alaska, Hawaii, or Canada, call collect 617-262-2300.) Or write One Norway Street, Boston, MA 02115. VISA and MasterCard accepted.

T6H

THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR®

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

in the hands of "well-placed zealots."

The book really ends with the declaration of the Jewish state in May of 1948. Grose follows with an epilogue that brings the story down to peace with Egypt and the assassination of Sadat. This addendum is too short to do justice to the subject, stripping it of context. Grose introduces the Six Day War, for example, with the bald statement that "at 7:10 A.M. on June 5, 1967, Israel bombarded the airports and aerial staging areas of Nasser's Egypt." Very punchy, but not very informative; indeed, misleading.

But this is just the last chapter. The book as a whole is a well-told and fascinating story, well researched in both published and archival sources, some of them newly opened. Unfortunately the scholarly apparatus is not appropriate to the controversial and nuanced character of subject and treatment. There are neither footnotes nor end notes; only a brief bibliographical essay for each chapter followed by what would appear to be random references to topics and quotations—random, because only some of the quotations are referenced and it is not clear why these and not others. (One presumes that the decision for this procedure was the publisher's, perhaps because someone felt superscript numbers would detract from appearance and readability, also hurt sales. Readers and authors should unite against this new philistinism.)

Grose's conclusion—and, in the end, the best justification of his work—is that the long history of America's awareness of and attitude toward Israel has been a key to defining our relationship. "Israel," he goes on,

> has succeeded in its primary mission, providing a home and a refuge for those of its people in need. American diplomacy has consistently honored that success. No American administration ever seriously entertained the possibility of reversing the decisions of 1947 and 1948 . . .

And then he takes the argument further:

> For, liking it or not, Americans who are willing to look see something of themselves in Israel. Even as they go their own way, in pursuit of their own national interests, Americans and Israelis are bonded together like no two other sovereign peoples. As the Judaic heritage flowed through the minds of America's early settlers and helped to shape the new American republic, so Israel adopted the vision and the values of the American dream. Each, the United States and Israel, grafted the heritage of the other onto itself.

An important book.

DAVID S. LANDES

David S. Landes, professor of history at Harvard University, is the author most recently of *Revolution in Time: Clocks and The Making of the Modern World* (Harvard University Press).

MOTHERS AND MYSTERIES

At the Bottom of the River by Jamaica Kincaid

(Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 82 pp., $9.95)

"Wash the white clothes on Monday and put them on the stone heap; wash the color clothes on Tuesday and put them on the clothesline to dry. . . ." These are the words that begin this unusual little book—a collection of ten stories, none of them longer than a few pages, most set in some unnamed spot in the Caribbean.

They're also the words that will give you the clearest idea of the book's general tone; for Jamaica Kincaid scrutinizes various particles of our world so closely and so solemnly that they begin to take on a nearly mystical importance.

> I milked the cows, I churned the butter, I stored the cheese, I baked the bread, I brewed the tea, I washed the clothes, I dressed the children; the cat meowed, the dog barked, the horse neighed, the mouse squeaked, the fly buzzed . . .
>
> In the light of the lamp, I see some books, I see a chair, I see a table, I see a pen; I see a bowl of ripe fruit, a bottle of milk, a flute made of wood, the clothes that I will wear. And as I see these things in the light of the lamp, all perishable and transient, how bound up I know I am to all that is human endeavor, to all that is past and to all that shall be, to all that shall be lost and leave no trace.

"Girl" consists of a single long paragraph of instructions from a mother to a daughter—instructions on every subject from how to cook pumpkin fritters to how to smile at someone she doesn't like. It's probably the finest piece in the collection, and dazzling for its ability to paint portraits on the slant, so to speak. Two distinct characters emerge, although they're never described for us in any conventional way.

Another story, "At Last," positively resonates with the ache caused by children growing up and leaving home. The narrative voice is the mother's. "Why did I not let you eat with your bare hands when you wanted to?" she asks, and "What did you say to me? What did I not hear?"

TWO themes dominate *At the Bottom of the River*. The first is the wonderful, terrible strength of a loving mother. "My mother can change everything," a narrator says, and she fantasizes about spending the rest of her days with a woman who "every night, over and over, . . . will tell me something that begins, 'Before you were born.' "

The second theme is the mysteriousness of ordinary life. We skate across this mysteriousness every day, blindly. To make us see it, the author describes the most mundane events as if they were dreams. Her voice is the reflective, dazed murmur of a person just awakened from sleep. "Someone is making a basket, someone is making a girl a dress or a boy a shirt" lies cheek to jowl with the surrealistically matter-of-fact "Now I am a girl, but one day I will marry a woman. . . ."

"Either it was drizzling or there was a lot of dust in the air and the dust was damp," she tells us. "I stuck out my tongue and the drizzle or the damp dust tasted like government school ink." Is this a dream, or is it real life? Come to think of it, are the two all that different?

It should be plain by now that this book is more poetry than prose. It has the ring of poetry—actual refrains, at times, such as the repetition of "the slut you are so bent on becoming," that runs through the mother's warnings in

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"Girl." Or, in "In the Night": "It's breathing, the little baby. It's breathing. It's bleating, the little baby. It's bleating." Moreover, the aim of the pieces is not to chronicle some specific event but to flood us with a mood or sensation. And that aim is realized, by and large.

But while these stories have all of poetry's virtues—care for language, joy in the sheer sound of words, and evocative power—they also have its failings. (Or at least, they're failings when present in short stories.) They are often almost insultingly obscure, and they fail to pull us forward with any semblance of plot. Not once in this collection do we wonder what happens next. Not once do we feel that the writer is leaning forward and taking our hands and telling us a story. Instead, she's spinning lovely, airy webs, with a sidelong glance in our direction every now and then to see if we're appreciative. For this reason, *At the Bottom of the River* in its final effect seems curiously cold and still.

This is not to say that readers should pass it up. At the very least, it's beautiful to listen to. And it introduces us to a writer who will soon, I firmly believe, put those magical tools of hers to work on something more solid.

ANNE TYLER

DR. PANGLOSS FOR PRESIDENT

Diary of a Dark Horse: The 1980 Anderson Presidential Campaign by Mark Bisnow

(Southern Illinois University Press, 329 pp., $24.95)

In 1979, Representative John Anderson was well known on Capitol Hill and in Rockford, Illinois, his district, but obscure elsewhere. He preferred spending his mornings alone in his office, reading newspapers rather than returning telephone calls to supplicants from back home. He was somewhat bored with the Congressional routine, although he immensely enjoyed delivering orations on the House floor, even to a nearly empty chamber. He decided that he wouldn't run again for reelection. Instead, he would run for President. He hired as his speechwriter and traveling companion a young Congressional staffer named Mark Bisnow, who had no previous political experience. Like his protégé, Anderson himself had little notion of how modern Presidential politics actually work. Together they trudged over to Senator Charles Percy's office to borrow old campaign blueprints produced by political consultants for the Senator back when he himself had entertained the headiest ambition. Anderson and his assistant lugged the thick volumes back to the Congressional office, "thinking we were carrying valuable secrets," according to Bisnow. Thus began Anderson's adventure.

Mark Bisnow's chronicle, *Diary of a Dark Horse*, is the best book to come out of the 1980 campaign, addressing in a more engaging and revealing manner than any other questions about the power of personality in politics, the decline of the parties, and the influence of the media. It has a devastatingly ironic tone, but Bisnow seems too earnest for it to be completely intentional. During the campaign, he became a minor folk figure, caricatured in *Doonesbury*. Serious yet naive, he embodied the "Anderson difference." *Diary of a Dark Horse* reads like *Candide*, as written not by Voltaire, but in the first person by Candide himself. Throughout, Bisnow remains fond of his Dr. Pangloss, a didactic moralist who's deeply involved with cosmic issues but unreflective about his own immediate experience; whenever Bisnow wonders if the latest campaign travesty is consistent with the candidate's pure image, Anderson reassures him that this is the best of all possible worlds. Like *Candide*, this is a dark tale.

One of the first things Anderson and Bisnow learn, after a George Will column casts doubt on the little known candidate, is that "credibility" is very important. Anderson has faint "visibility," and hence little credibility. So he begins courting the press. The presence in the candidate's entourage of Sally Quinn of *The Washington Post* is depicted as a coup. (She suggests to Bisnow that he start writing a book: waste not, want not.) Columnists' names abound in his *Diary*. No state party chairmen appear; they couldn't deliver visibility.

When Anderson does cause a commotion that attracts attention, it's not planned. He comes out for gun control before a raving crowd of gun owners in New Hampshire and for abortion before a hysterical antiabortion heckler in Chicago. "An image of Anderson was becoming fixed in the public mind, and events would repeatedly tend to be interpreted in such a way as to corroborate it," writes Bisnow. This image was promoted by the campaign advertising as the "Anderson difference."

The candidate starts to gain visibility. Gary Trudeau virtually endorses him in

BURIED MUSIC

Short weed
bends back its unhoused greaves.
The lumbering darkness
combs it into soft
clangor.

from

THE DRUM AND THE MELODY

by Celia Watson Strome

"Out of the language comes the statement, one of 'buried music,' of loss, affection and redemption. This is an excellent first book of poems. Read it."
—Gerald Stern

illustrated by Lisa Smith
$3.50 paper, 72 pages

The Smith•Publishers
5 Beekman Street
NYC 10038

distributed by Horizon Press

Spend Your Vacation Wisely This Summer

And achieve the goal you've always wanted! Earn your Doctoral Degree from Southeastern University, an established non-traditional institution noted for its quality students and educational programs.

Applications are now being accepted for the 1984 summer residency session. So make your plans today and visit world-famous New Orleans, site of the 1984 Louisiana World's Fair.

For admission info. contact: Southeastern University, 5163 General de Gaulle Drive, New Orleans, LA. 70114, (504) 392-7157. (Dormitory facilities available).

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Doonesbury. And then Keke, the candidate's wife, gets the idea of calling Jane Curtin of the *Saturday Night Live* cast, to urge that her husband be put on the program. "He's had lots of oratorical experience on the Hill," she pleads. "And when he was a senior in high school he once played the part of Abraham Lincoln." Curtin thinks this is a gas, and Anderson gets a cameo appearance, which boosts his visibility even more. He attracts large crowds of college students, but still not crowds of television reporters. "Finally," writes Bisnow, "in exasperation, Anderson agreed to sit down one day and personally call a number of network correspondents and assignment editors."

Eventually Anderson wins credibility on the night of the Massachusetts primary, when Walter Cronkite interviews him live and declares him the winner before all the votes are counted (the final tally would show George Bush the winner). Suddenly forty to sixty reporters are stalking the candidate. Anderson is now feted in Beverly Hills, where the stars give him the star treatment. Bisnow finds himself in the Bel Air home of financial angel Stanley Sheinbaum, who's married to Jack Warner's daughter. The Sheinbaums invite Bisnow to their bedroom, where they're joined by Ted Ashley, chairman of Warner Brothers, and his wife. The moguls and their wives all lie on an enormous bed watching the Super Bowl and munching from a "huge barrel of popcorn, divided into four color groups, including cheese, caramel, chocolate, and regular. . . . How far the Anderson campaign had come from its candidate's humble beginnings in Rockford, Illinois, I thought." Bisnow demurely sits on the floor.

Unfortunately, Anderson loses the next two key primaries, in Illinois and Wisconsin. However, the idea of an independent Presidential candidacy, advanced by the press, is in the air. "We could not help feeling flattered that the press was taking the whole subject so seriously," Bisnow writes. To make the decision, Anderson closets himself with his closest advisers—Bob Sann, a media consultant; Tom Mathews, a direct mail expert; and Norman Lear, a producer of situation comedies. They all push hard for his entry into the race as an independent. The "numbers," they insist, show he can win. "Calling it quits," observes Bisnow, "might mean never being heard from again."

EATING

As if it's been waiting until he can't have it,
some moment they lived, that he didn't want
when it was his, begins to raise a craving in him—
good dinner that she used to hear him
bring thoughtfully upstairs to where
she was waiting, reading or watching TV.
They'd spend a half-hour eating it,
their familiar life was a comfort, then from
the next room where he'd be brooding
over books or just hoarding himself
he'd listen for her quiet movement,
sometimes laughter as she watched TV or read.
Did she want him to think she was happy?
But he'd sit still and ponder what
was expected of him, or hoped.
Later they'd snack, or one of them would.

Remorse now makes him remember her saying
one time when they were crying in her new
living room filled with familiar things
that were just hers, not his any more,
"I wish I'd stayed to have breakfast with you."
She meant all those mornings she had
hurried away to work, him still in bed
debating with himself whether to get up,
whether to have an egg or skip to lunch.

(Once at a dinner when they were admiring
all the work their hosts had finished together
on floors and walls, but famished, she had
told him how she liked something he had done
and he'd bitten at her, red with his own
unsuspected anger, then sick at her tears.)

It wasn't her fault he'd stayed in bed.
His too-wistful asking her to stay those mornings
only showed he thought it would be easier
if she went, though there were days
he did get up to walk to the diner
with her at that special pace they hit
together, that came to life from them
like a child, but was broken
when after breakfast he watched her go on
alone to work and he walked the other way
full of coffee and bread—
as it would break if they were tired
after those dinners with friends
where they'd eaten too much. And even if
he'd done nothing cruel, walking home
side by side late and out of step,
each could silently take back from the other—
and *he* often would—what had seemed
affectionately given in the company of others.
A brief safe walk to bed—the distance
sometimes growing, the closer they got to home.

And in bed, whether they did or they didn't;
snugged against each other or not;
with the silence denying all hurts
or tears from either or both;
with him refusing to answer
or her taking a sharp
quick breath to say *yes*;
good food and too much wine
or bad and none—
they were hungry
lying awake, and hungry they fell asleep,
and sleeping, all night long, they were hungry.

REGINALD GIBBONS

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The last Modern Republican values his partisan identification so lightly that he repudiates it, without ever clarifying for the public what it means that Anderson, a moderate, no longer feels he has a place within the G.O.P. What does the conservative triumph portend for the party? Anderson does not speak to these difficult questions. He and his new "party" are intoxicated by the excitement of the moment. Having failed to win a single primary, but having aroused the interest of the press and collected a coterie of media specialists, Anderson plunges ahead.

The first order of business is hiring a new political consultant. The more famous the consultant, the more credible the campaign. David Garth, a streetwise New Yorker with an impressive record of successes, is signed on. Immediately, Garth curbs Anderson's spontaneous relationship with the press in order to maintain his own dominance within the campaign. When Anderson leaks his plan to run as an independent to *The Washington Post*, Garth spews foul language at the candidate and Anderson docilely succumbs, thereby losing effective control of his campaign.

In Bisnow's version of *Candide*, Garth plays the role of the Lisbon earthquake. He is a catastrophe, Bisnow is convinced, and suddenly he wonders about Pangloss's optimism. Anderson's trust in Garth, however, never flags, although they hold sharply divergent views of political life. For Anderson, politics is an occasion for illuminating the great issues of the day. The press is his platform, elevating him before audiences to whom he can speechify at length and at will. For Garth, politics is a feral netherworld, something like the Times Square subway station after midnight. Behind any pillar might lurk a maniac with a stiletto, probably a reporter. Anderson's innocence is dangerous; it tempts muggers. An unleashed candidate is also a challenge to the carefully constructed persona projected by the consultant, and thus to the consultant's power.

With Garth in control, as Bisnow tells it, the candidate's decline begins. Reporters' calls go unanswered. All interview requests are turned down, even one from Barbara Walters, who promises seven uninterrupted minutes on "ABC World News." And Bisnow is removed from the candidate's side, sent back to the Washington office. Garth's own aides begin writing Anderson's statements, which turn vapid. The unconventional politician seems to become more conventional, and the "Anderson difference" evaporates. From the instant Garth takes over and keeps Anderson at arm's length from the press, the candidate drops about one point in popularity every week and a half until election day.

In early May 1980 Bisnow gives Anderson a memo warning that Garth's packaging might destroy the campaign's appeal. "Mark," says the paternal Anderson, "we can't go back to the *Doonesbury* days. We're in the big time." A few weeks later Bisnow cautions Anderson again. What's going on within the campaign, he says, is the "invasion of the body snatchers." "Well," replies Anderson, "we're not amateurs anymore." In August, Bisnow warns Anderson once more. By now, the candidate is in decline. Most of the causes, Bisnow claims, are due to Garth's influence. He argues that Garth should be restricted simply to producing television ads. "I'll talk to Keke about this, I promise," says Anderson. Shortly afterwards, Garth is given the formal title of campaign manager and granted explicit power over the entire effort.

Paranoia and "pseudo-decisiveness" are the least of Bisnow's charges against Garth. He points out that Garth was earning hundreds of thousands of dollars while the campaign was falling deeper and deeper into debt. "The suspicions raised about these matters may have been unfair, but that they existed was a measure of what some took to be the true motivations now driving the campaign," he writes. Bisnow's reasoning is that Garth committed the campaign to huge expenditures, forcing it into debt, "ensuring that Anderson remained in the race until the bitter end so as to qualify for retroactive subsidies." The campaign, according to Bisnow, was the consultant's cash cow.

Enough Panglossian philosophy has brushed off on Bisnow that he contends Anderson had a real possibility of winning the Presidency, if only Garth hadn't appeared on the scene. He neglects other obvious factors. For example, Norman Lear, the campaign adviser, might think a three network universe makes perfect sense; the American voter, however, has a natural prejudice for two channels. In seeking to denigrate Garth, Bisnow also overlooks the singular triumph of the Anderson campaign: the acquisition of ballot status in all fifty states. If Garth is held responsible for the disasters he

A New Judaism

A bold new secular interpretation of Jewish identity

The most interesting Jews of the last one hundred years never joined a synagogue. They never prayed. They were uninterested in God. They paid no attention to the Torah lifestyle. They found Reform as meaningless as Orthodoxy. But they found a new positive humanistic dimension in their Jewish identity.

Humanistic Judaism is the quarterly journal of a new movement in Jewish life which presents an alternative Judaism for those who are still searching.

Send $15 for an annual subscription or for information write to:

Society for Humanistic Judaism
Department 2
28611 W. 12 Mile Road
Farmington Hills, Michigan 48018
(313) 478-7610

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

must be conceded credit for the accomplishments, too. But since Garth is the villain, Anderson remains undiminished in Bisnow's eyes. He can't bring himself to see the campaign as a reflection of the candidate.

Bisnow never calculates the benefits reaped by Ronald Reagan and the conservatives by John Anderson's abrupt departure from the Republican Party. By staying within the party he would have broadened the spectrum in a way the conservatives feared. They wanted to purge all moderates, or at the least to fragment their leadership. Anderson was a potential threat because he offered a focal point around which to organize. He could have gone to the convention and given a speech spelling out his vision of Republicanism. He would have marked a position that the conservatives in some way would have had to contend with. Even out of Congress he could have rallied the moderates, the "gypsy moths"—Anderson, after all, had been leader of the House Republican Conference. He just might have had a modicum of influence, been a tempering influence, during the Reagan years.

Outside of the party, he performed a double function for the conservatives. First, his withdrawal made it more difficult for moderates to mount sustained internal opposition. Second, his independent candidacy helped elect Ronald Reagan to the Presidency. Many moderate Republican voters couldn't bring themselves to vote for Reagan. Anderson provided a way station for them, preventing their realignment with the Democrats.

Bisnow gives no indication that Anderson understands what happened to him or, more important, what his candidacy says about the political system. Bisnow, for his part, has decided to tend his own garden; he's enrolled at Harvard Law School. Anderson still seeks the cheering crowds. He has already announced plans to create a new party, the National Unity Party, which will serve as a vehicle for his 1984 Presidential campaign. Most likely, he will hurt the Democratic nominee. If Anderson qualifies for the ballot in ten states he will be eligible to receive $5.8 million in federal funds. But this will not simply be a prepaid lecture tour. As a precondition to campaigning this time, Anderson must do all the party work he dismissed before. He must make an institutional justification for himself—write party rules, set up a delegate selection structure and commission a platform committee. He must focus on process, not just on issues and images. He is now trapped within the party logic at the most rudimentary level. He may discover that this is not the best of all possible worlds.

SIDNEY BLUMENTHAL

Sidney Blumenthal, author of *The Permanent Campaign* (Touchstone / Simon & Schuster), is the national political correspondent of THE NEW REPUBLIC through the 1984 election.

PASSIONS OF A MAN

Mingus: A Critical Biography by Brian Priestley

(Quartet, 288 pp.,$24.95)

British critic and musician Brian Priestley begins *Mingus: A Critical Biography* by giving us the great bassist and composer's astrological sign (Taurus with Taurus rising), telling us that it is unlike that of Stevie Wonder or of Duke Ellington, and he ends with a reference to Mingus playing in the big band in the sky. Despite these occasional signs of desperation (unlike Mingus, he has trouble with beginnings and endings), Priestley has written a creditable, if impersonal, biography, and the best lengthy treatment yet of Mingus's music.

Mingus was a difficult man and is a challenging subject. He was the Ezra Pound of the jazz world, silent and dignified at the end, a voluble organizer earlier, and imposing and creative throughout. He can't be categorized. He was one of the great improvisers, and a virtuoso on the bass—which he sometimes abandoned in favor of the piano. Yet he wanted to be known as a composer. He was a bebopper who loved Ellington, a composer who applied techniques developed in his "cool" pieces of the early 1950s to some of the hottest performances of the end of the decade. He wrote stinging satiric numbers like "Fables of Faubus" and a series of portraits of the beautiful women in his life; these latter pieces are usually in the key of D flat, as Priestley points out. Many of his works have unusual structures ("Fables of Faubus" begins with a nineteen-bar theme), but the best of them seem passionately inevitable.

On a commission from Brandeis University, Mingus wrote "Revelations Part One," which opens with a sombre section played by classical musicians and later moves into jazz improvisation. Still, in his most productive period, Mingus liked to teach his musicians by ear. The problem, as he saw it, was that a jazz musician introduces:

> his own *individual* expression rather than what the composer intended . . . [Now] I "write" compositions—but only on mental score paper— then I lay out the composition part by part to the musicians. I play them the "framework" on piano so that they are all familiar with my interpretation and feeling and with the scale and chord progressions to be used. Each man's own particular style is taken into consideration, both in ensemble and in solos. For instance, they are given different rows of notes to use against each chord but they choose their own notes and play them in their own style. In this way, I find it possible to keep my own compositional flavor in the pieces and yet allow the musicians more individual freedom.

Mingus wanted his musicians to be free and yet to sound like Mingus. Although this method produced performances that showed surprising integrity of style, many of his distinguished sidemen quit out of exhaustion, or because of the difficulty of the music. "He was totally tyrannical," said John Handy. Trombonist Jimmy Knepper, who produced his most important work with Mingus, spoke of the bassist as a fate that he would like to avoid: "I want to play standards." Mingus introduced pedal points into jazz as well as "extended forms," long periods of improvisation over a couple of chords, and he wrote difficult polyrhythms, accelerandos, and crescendoes into compositions of shifting moods and rhythms.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Mingus discovered jazz as a child, when he heard "East St. Louis Toodle-oo" on the radio. Later he said that his crucial influences were Ellington and the classics, to which the music of Charlie Parker was grafted. He played briefly in the big bands of Lionel Hampton, Louis Armstrong, and Duke Ellington, as well as with Charlie Parker. Armstrong fired him when he told the trumpeter that he would accept no racial insults on a southern tour; so did Ellington when, as a result of an argument with Juan Tizol, Mingus chased the trombonist across the stage with an axe.

Mingus was a difficult and mercurial man, anxious to remain himself. For a long time he resisted the influence of Charlie Parker while developing a comparable virtuosity on his own instrument. He was an astonishing bassist, with a flawless, expansive technique in any range of the bass, a huge moody tone, and unparalleled rhythmic drive. He directed his bands from his bass, priding himself on being able to conduct conversations in music. (One of these, with Eric Dolphy, can be found on "What Love.") Priestley tells of a doctor who tested this ability by having Mingus say, on his bass, "I think Charles Mingus is a genius" to his saxophonist. The message arrived. Mingus sent other messages too. He would shout in exuberance, or when he wasn't getting what he wanted from his band, and he would exhort, threaten, or even fire his musicians on stage, all in the interests of the most intense performance. Priestley tells how Mingus rehearsed a large group for an important performance at the Monterey Jazz Festival—he lectured them. To learn the music, they finally had to have rehearsals without him.

In interviews given seven years apart, two Mingus sidemen, George Adams and Bobby Jones, independently compared playing with Mingus to being let out on a string: they found they could go as far as possible within Mingus's framework, providing they recognized who was holding the string. A composition, Mingus told his drummer Dannie Richmond, must have a center.

> OK, if you had a dot in the middle of your hand and you were going in a circle, it would have to expand and go round and round, and get larger and larger and larger. And at some point it would have to stop, and then this same circle would have to come back around, around, around to the little dot in the middle of your hand.

Mingus said comparable things about the beat in black music, mentioning in his autobiography the prolonged slap of the clapping in a black church, so different from what he would expect from a white congregation. And he invented a name, "rotary perception," for the faculty that allowed that loose beat to work in jazz:

> Swing proceeds in one direction only—but this rotary movement is, of course, circular. Previously jazz has been held back by people who think that everything must be played in the "heard" or obvious pulse. . . . With Rotary Perception you may imagine a circle around the beat . . . The notes can fall at any point within the circle so that the original feeling for the beat is not disturbed. If anyone in the group loses confidence, one of the quartet can hit the beat again.

CHARLES MINGUS BY JACK COUGHLIN FOR THE NEW REPUBLIC

Things came together for Mingus in the mid-1950s. He began a series of recordings, first for his own company, Debut, and then for Atlantic, Bethlehem, and Impulse, in which the fervor of the playing matched the intelligence of his compositions. He experimented. A version of Gershwin's "A Foggy Day" begins with honks and other sound effects reminiscent of "An American in Paris." He indulged himself on "The Clown," which is performed behind an improvised narration by Jean Shepherd about a pathetic, self-destructive, but increasingly popular clown. And in pieces like "Haitian Fight Song" he introduced fury into jazz that had never been there before. In 1963 he recorded a coherent, album-length work, *The Black Saint and the Sinner Lady*. Priestley calls this album "not only the most monumental of Mingus's works but the one which most nearly combines his various compositional approaches in a convincing whole."

Priestley is most helpful when talking about works such as *Black Saint*, or when identifying the recurrence of favorite Mingus phrases, chord progressions, or devices. (Mingus seemed to compose in segments, and frequently cannibalized his own works. The bridge on the early piece "Eulogy for Rudy Williams," for example, appears in various forms throughout his career.) *Black Saint*, as Priestley notes, was heavily edited and overdubbed by Mingus. Mingus created new material by repeating previously recorded figures and dubbing solos over the repeats. He created a series of climaxes by putting different takes of the same section back to back. *Black Saint*, Priestley concludes, "marks the first occasion in any field where the combination of overdubbing with creative editing actually determined the nature of the product," and, in an appendix, he gives us a table that allows the reader to follow these manipulations.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE NEW REPUBLIC
SUBSCRIBER SERVICE

ADDRESS CHANGE?

If you plan to change your address please give us 4 weeks notice. We can handle this change most efficiently if you follow the instructions below:

1. Send us the mailing label on the front of this magazine to let us know your old address.
2. Write your new address below.
3. Mail this coupon to:
   THE NEW REPUBLIC
   P.O. Box 955
   Farmingdale, NY 11737

☐ Please send The New Republic to my new address:

Name (please print)

Address Apt. No.

City State Zip

To enter a new subscription or renew your current subscription, to order gift subscriptions or have your name removed from the TNR mailing list, please write to the address above.

PROBLEMS, COMPLAINTS?

If you have a subscription problem that needs to be solved or are unhappy with our service we want to know about it.

Please call one of our customer service representatives at: **800-645-9559.**

We can help you most efficiently if the mailing label from your latest issue is in front of you when you call.

If the problem concerns your payment, please have your canceled check in front of you so that we can solve the problem over the telephone.

800-645-9559

(NY residents call 800-732-9119)
(Call between 9:00-5:00, Eastern time, Monday-Friday in the continental U.S.)

Priestley has conscientiously assembled much of the published materials—interviews, profiles, and statements by Mingus—related to his subject. Still, there are gaps. Priestley talked to two of Mingus's wives, but, it seems, to none of his children. He has read interviews and talked with the important Mingus musicians, but not with many others who might have had equally interesting things to say. And too often he substitutes speculation for argument.

Mingus himself remains mysterious. In his very fictionalized autobiography, *Beneath the Underdog*, a surprisingly buoyant book considering its self-pitying title, Mingus explains his own theory about himself:

> In other words, I am three. One man stands forever in the middle, unconcerned, unmoved, watching, waiting to be allowed to express what he sees to the other two. The second man is like a frightened animal that attacks for fear of being attacked. Then there's an over-loving gentle person who lets people into the uttermost sacred temple of his being and he'll take insults and be trusting and sign contracts without reading them and get talked down to working cheap or for nothing, and when he realizes what's been done to him he feels like killing and destroying everything around him, including himself, for being so stupid.

Nothing in this new biography equals Mingus's self-analysis, certainly not the astrological speculations. "Any minimally serious astrological guide will describe the typical Taurean as having outsize physical appetites, whether sexual or gastronomical," Priestley tells us, while Mingus himself said that when he first made love, he felt accepted for what he was, after a nightmare of worrying about his racial identity.

Mingus: A Critical Biography ends with several accurately transcribed Mingus solos and arrangements, and a discography charting his recording career, as well as the list of irregular chorus structures mentioned above. The book contains musical analyses other musicians will enjoy. It is a competent, if inconclusive, introduction to this enigmatic man, whose best friend, Dannie Richmond, said of him that "he wanted to be a pimp, he wanted to be a gangster, he wanted to be a musician, he wanted to be a great lover. And you know, he considered himself all of those people."

MICHAEL ULLMAN

Michael Ullman, who writes often on jazz for THE NEW REPUBLIC, is the author of *Jazz Lives* (Putnam's).

WAYS OF RULING

The Anatomy of Power
by John Kenneth Galbraith

(Houghton Mifflin, 206 pp., $15.95)

John Kenneth Galbraith's very first book, *American Capitalism*, was subtitled *The Concept of Countervailing Power*. The term immediately caught on, virtually becoming "conventional wisdom" as a description of American society, to use a phrase of later Galbraithian coinage that has been even more successful. Now after many years Galbraith has chosen to address himself to the nature of power itself and its vicissitudes in the rise of modern capitalist democracies.

Galbraith identifies three "instruments for the exercise of power": the infliction of punishments; the offering of rewards; and the shaping of beliefs through persuasion, education, and moral exhortation. He calls these "condign," "compensatory," and "conditioned" power, respectively. In addition to his three instruments of power, Galbraith distinguishes three sources of power: personality, property, and organization. This conceptual apparatus is serviceable enough in a rough-and-ready way, although, as Galbraith recognizes, finer distinctions are possible. One regrets, for example, that so little attention is paid to skill or knowledge as a partially independent source of power. The spectacle of Galbraith confronting Foucault might have been an interesting one—the notion of "technocratic" power was at least implicit in

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

some of Galbraith's earlier books.

I have some problems with Galbraith's use of both the concept of conditioned power and of personality as a source of power. My discomfort is doubtless fairly typical of the sorts of objections sociologists often raise against the formulations of economists, even economists like Galbraith who are seen as mavericks by their colleagues.

Galbraith writes of Karl Marx's "use of conditioned power." The pen may well be mightier than the sword, but Marx's ideas, not the man himself, were powerful, and they achieved their maximum power long after his death. Marx the man was dependent during his early years in London on the largesse of Engels for the support of his family; he was unable to dissuade his daughters from choosing husbands he considered unsuitable; in his major foray into active politics he failed to prevent the First International from falling under the control of his enemy Bakunin. Marx's ideas eventually helped mobilize large numbers of people and were used to justify powerful organizations claiming to uphold them, including states, but all this hardly amounted to an exercise of power by Marx himself. Indeed, if power is "the possibility of imposing one's will upon the behavior of other persons"—Max Weber's definition, which Galbraith accepts—it does Marx an injustice to suggest that he would have approved of all, or even of much, that has been done in his name.

Nor, as Galbraith also implies at one point, was Marx's personality in any sense the source of the postmortem influence won by his doctrines. I hesitate to invoke the sociologist's old bugaboo of the "great man theory of history," but Galbraith sometimes seems to conflate personality as a source of power with just about any and all situations in which individual personalities achieve high visibility in positions of leadership. He notes, to be sure, the "important tendency in all modern political comment to exaggerate the role of personality in the exercise of power," but he equates this exaggeration with the self-serving flattery of subordinates and public-relations efforts to glorify people in important positions. Even in cases where the judgments and preferences of individuals make a real difference, however, it is incorrect to regard personality as the source of their power. The unstructured and indeterminate nature of the situation itself, as in Galbraith's own example of the labor conflicts of the 1930s, may place a premium on the decisions of individuals who have had power suddenly thrust upon them. In another of Galbraith's examples, Churchill in 1940 was certainly the right man in the right place, the personal embodiment of Britain's will to resist. But could his magnificent gifts of determination and inspiration have brought about a British surrender to Hitler? The question answers itself.

Galbraith often contrasts personality as a putative source of power in the past with the "faceless organization men" who head contemporary public and private bureaucracies. The contrast is a real one, but it doesn't follow that past leaders, or nonbureaucratic leaders today, have owed their power primarily to their personal qualities. Hereditary absolute monarchs were highly visible, and even their sexual tastes—for example, their choice of mistresses—deserved scrutiny as clues to their political decisions, but personality was obviously not the source of their power. Galbraith needs a distinction, such as that drawn by Sidney Hook in *The Hero in History*, between "eventful" and "event-making" persons, the latter alone referring to individuals "whose actions," in Hook's words, "are the consequences of outstanding capacities of intelligence, will, and character, rather than of accidents of position."

Despite his ambiguities on the subject of personality as a source of power, Galbraith has a firm grasp of the fact that power in the modern world is preeminently collective. This means that a group's ability to exercise power externally depends on its prior capacity to control reliably its own members. Galbraith calls this the "bimodal symmetry of organization" and rightly observes that it is "one of its most frequently overlooked features." He also notes a further symmetry between "the sources of power and the countervailing response" expressed in such aphorisms as fighting fire with fire and those who live by the sword shall perish by the sword; he remarks on the deviation from this rule of symmetry in the successful use of nonviolent resistance by Gandhi and Martin Luther King. This discussion, though tantalizingly brief, makes an original contribution to the understanding of organizations as power structures.

The second half of *The Anatomy of*

NUCLEAR WAR, NUCLEAR PEACE

LEON WIESELTIER

". . . one of the most thoughtful essays that I have read on a difficult subject."
—Henry A. Kissinger

"To nuclear strategy, a subject in which unreason abounds, Leon Wieseltier has brought his eloquent, careful call to reason. Ideologues of left and right will find much to irritate them here; intelligent readers will find much to think about."
—James Fallows,
Author of *National Defense*

"Leon Wieseltier has written a defense of deterrence that brilliantly combines political realism with moral concern."
—Michael Walzer

"Leon Wieseltier has analyzed the central strategic issue of the day—the question of nuclear deterrence—with a clarity and lucidity unmatched in any other writing on the subject. . . . Not since the late Hans Morgenthau have we had a writer who is so able to combine a lucid realism with liberal values in dealing with foreign policy and ideological issues."
—Professor Daniel Bell, Harvard University

A New Republic Book • Holt, Rinehart and Winston

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Power presents a short history of the different institutional centers of power from precapitalist times to the present. The power of the church in the Middle Ages, the rise of merchant and then industrial capitalism, the transition to "high" capitalism dominated by giant corporations, the countervailing responses of trade unionism and state regulation, the contemporary power of the military establishment, religion, and the press—all are given chapter-length treatment. The general trend for two centuries, Galbraith contends, has been away from coercive (or "condign") power toward compensatory and conditioned power, with organization increasingly supplanting both personality and property as the major source of power.

Galbraith thinks that "there is more danger of overestimating than of underestimating the power of the modern media," a conclusion that may surprise readers familiar with his past insistence on advertising as the creator of wants and his criticism of the nearly total neglect of it by traditional economics. Yet he is surely mistaken when he claims that schoolchildren in the United States hear "in similar fashion of the virtues of free enterprise" as children in communist countries hear "relentlessly of the virtues of socialism." Of the virtues of democracy, or of the American Constitution, yes. Of "free enterprise," no. Galbraith himself received his early education in Canada; perhaps he has spent so much of his life arguing with economics professors who are true believers in free enterprise that he assumes such a deeply held faith must have been acquired in grade school and not in graduate school.

MILITARY POWER, though coercive when directed against the enemy in war, rests on both property (public property derived from Congressional appropriations) and organization. Galbraith's chapter on "the military power," unfortunately, is little more than an unrelieved complaint that it is excessive in contemporary America, ending with a standard plea for the nuclear freeze movement which, he argues altogether unconvincingly, "encourages the possibility of a similar movement in the Soviet Union." Along the way, he advances the thoroughly questionable claim that "the Vietnam War produced in the United States one of the most comprehensive efforts in social conditioning in modern times. Nothing was spared in the attempt to make the war seem necessary and acceptable to the American public." Actually, both Johnson and Nixon tried to win the war on the sly and on the cheap, refusing to raise taxes or to demand any material sacrifices from the public. Johnson declined to abandon his program of domestic reform; Nixon kept trying to win the war while pretending to be winding it down, and he even approved the abolition of the draft. One can only guess what the results might have been had the government, as in previous wars, made an all-out effort to arouse the patriotic fervor of the public in support of the war, though it was ultimately a difficult, if not impossible, task to make a plausible case for it. Under the circumstances, it is scarcely surprising that the halfhearted and ambiguous defense of the war emanating from Washington should have encouraged rather than deterred the antiwar movement.

GALBRAITH has for years been arguing that large corporations are independently powerful, against his neoclassical colleagues in economics who continue to stress the primary importance of individual entrepreneurship and the determination of prices and production by market forces rather than by corporate decision-making. This argument cuts in another direction as well, against the insistence of Marxists that classes based on the ownership or nonownership of property are the major collective actors under capitalism. Recent Marxist theorists have acknowledged the "relative autonomy" of the state, but they are less ready to concede that private organizations may also be autonomous historical agents, relegating "class struggles" to a minor and peripheral role in modern societies. Galbraith's claims for the primacy of organization, reiterated in the present book but developed much more fully in earlier works, constitute, in my view, his most valuable achievement in enlightening us about the social and economic world in which we live.

DENNIS WRONG

Dennis Wrong, professor of sociology at New York University, is the author of *Power: Its Forms, Bases & Uses* (Harper & Row).

CORRESPONDENCE, *from page 2*

Although I was not named by "Aristides," I was easily recognizable in his article. There is strong evidence that the piece was written by Mr. Epstein, and even if it was not, it had to have his editorial approval in order to be printed. It would be Mr. Epstein's responsibility to keep this kind of gratuitous nastiness out of the magazine, but as we know not only from the fellow-traveling journals of past decades but also from the similarly ugly practices of the various present-day magazines of neoconservative opinion, it is a heady business having a magazine of your very own in which to pursue your ideological preferences and to try to do harm to the people who are in political disagreement with you. Neoconservatives such as Joseph Epstein, Norman Podhoretz, and Hilton Kramer, all of them editors of important periodicals, are not so young but that they have to be fully aware of the irreparable damage that was done to the cultural and even the political life of this country by their Stalinist forebears who, instead of honorably debating issues, poisoned the intellectual atmosphere with lies and personal invective. By what process of self-hallucination do they now persuade themselves that just because they operate from an opposite premise, the anticommunist premise, they do us any better service with such methods?

A further point. In manifest friendliness you speak of my "cold war liberalism." I find the term disturbing. Obviously, so long as communism and democracy live in the same world they are bound to be at war with each other. It is of overriding importance that every resource of statesmanship, intelligence, and restraint be called upon to keep this war cold. In consequence, the term should not be thought a pejorative one. But for various historical reasons—some sound, some not so sound—the designation "cold war" or "cold warrior" has come to be associated with a political stance that is the contrary of restrained and statesmanlike. I am therefore reluctant to have it associated with my name. If label we must, it seems to me to be better by far to stay with that weary but proud old description, "liberal anticommunist." I think that is what you probably meant in the first place.

DIANA TRILLING
New York, New York

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE NEW REPUBLIC CLASSIFIEDS

Books

PROOF JESUS FICTIONAL!

Learn the world's great secret: how the Romans (Flavius Josephus and family) created fictional Jesus, Christianity, authored New Testament. POSITIVE PROOF, legitimate offer. SCHOLARLY BOOKLET: Send $3 to Vector, Box 6215-G, Bellevue, WA 98008

Discover the Miracle of America

A new idea associated with a new trend in renewal of America, the whole of civilization — in the making of a more perfect Society. FREE copy

Society for American Renewal
147 West 42nd St. (Room 603) New York, N.Y. 10036

Buttons/Bumperstickers

BUTTONS/BUMPERSTICKERS/CUSTOM PRINTED (union shop). "The Source" since 1961! Largest variety social awareness and anti-nuclear items in stock for immediate shipment, FREE WHOLESALE CATALOG, Larry Fox, Box M-4, Valley Stream, NY 11582. (516) 791-7929.

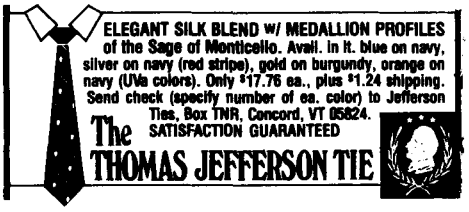
Clothing

GO LIGHTLY . . .

in pure cotton drawstring pants, tops, jackets and etceteras. Free catalogue and swatches

a cottage industry
DEVA Box NRC3 Burkittsville, MD 21718

ELEGANT SILK BLEND w/ MEDALLION PROFILES of the Sage of Monticello. Avail. in lt. blue on navy, silver on navy (red stripe), gold on burgundy, orange on navy (UVa colors). Only $17.76 ea., plus $1.24 shipping. Send check (specify number of ea. color) to Jefferson Ties, Box TNR, Concord, VT 05824. SATISFACTION GUARANTEED



The THOMAS JEFFERSON TIE

Etc.

NECK TIE NARROWING Save your wide ties from fashion obsolescence! We'll narrow your ties to a stylish 3" width (or state width). Great birthday or Christmas gift. Send $12.50 for each set of 3 ties to Slim Ties Co., 44 Monterey Blvd., Dept. N S.F., CA 94131

Fine Arts

SUPER OFFER. 50% OFF BRAGG ETCHINGS. DALI, MIRO, OTHERS. (212) 454-2438.

Instruction

American Genealogy:
A comprehensive, 16-lesson home study course for amateur and experienced researchers seeking to improve knowledge and skills. National Genealogical Society, 1921-NR Sunderland Place N.W., Washington, DC 20036.

Literary Services

STILL LOOKING FOR A BOOK? Free search service. Please write Peter Sperling Books, Box 1766, Madison Square Station, New York, N.Y. 10159.

Personal

BEAUTIFUL PHILIPPINE Ladies seek nice friendship, correspondence! Photos, information, free! Transcor - NR, Box 2321, Manila, Philippines 2801

CLASSICAL MUSIC LOVERS' EXCHANGE—Nationwide link between unattached music lovers. Write: CMLE, Box 31, Pelham, NY 10803.

JUST US is a contact/correspondence magazine exclusively for women wanting to meet women. Free details, first ad free. Sample copy $2. JU, P.O. Box 80521-DT, Chamblee, GA 30341.

MARRIAGE BUREAU. Doctors, Engineers, Scientists, even millionaires wishing to meet and marry Americans. Toll free 1-800-446-7660 or write U.S.B.I.C., Box 29769, Richmond, VA 23229.

MEET intelligent singles, widowed, divorced, thru the new College Club. All ages. Send for information and news about special introductory fees. P.O. Box 533NR, Gates Mills, OH 44040.

ORIENTAL LADIES lovely, intelligent desire correspondence/friendship. Details: The Oriental Connection, Box 8534, Kansas City, MO 64114. (816) 741-2140.

ORIENTAL WOMEN seek correspondence for cultural exchange, language practice, friendship. Cherry Blossoms, Box 1021NR, Honokaa, HI 96727.

SINGLE BOOKLOVERS get the cultured singles acquainted. Established 1970. 3000 members. Nationwide. Box AE, Swarthmore, PA 19081 or call 215-566-2132.

WOMAN, late 30's, relocated from east coast, wants fellow traveler to explore the big city. Theatre, film, cuisine, art, jogging in Chicago area. TNR Box 1260.

UNATTACHED? Meet sincere, literate singles—anywhere. Call DATELINE-free 800-451-3245.

"EXPOSE HUMAN SHARKS." Stop trickery. 100 protections. End worry, enjoy love. Command conditions. $2. NEWLIFE, Box 684-BP, Boulder City, Nevada 89005.

Publications

World-wide Revolution! Raging wars! Nuclear holocaust! "Massive" social, geo-political upheavals! Years 1984 to 2000 mark turning point in history of planet! "Startling, informative" report reveals hundreds of "secret" predictions for this generation! **Don't be caught unaware!** For your copy send $5.00 to: Trans-continental Trading Group, Suite 606, 6731 S. Jeffery, Chicago, Ill 60649. Attn: CEO; "T. Perry."

COUNTER-PUNCHING—a bi-weekly newsletter focusing on the Taxpayer vs IRS. Introductory offer, 13 issues $25. P.O. Box 182, North Boston, NY 14110.

"HOW TO EXECUTE AN AGENCY" by E. Walterhouse Allen. Wicked, informed satire about Bureaucratic Types you should recognize! Distilled from 50 years' work in human service agencies. 135 pages, 1st edition, ppd. $3.95. Write: BARKBACK (NR), P.O. Box 235, Glenshaw, PA 15116.

INTERNATIONAL EMPLOYMENT HOTLINE

Monthly issues reveal current opportunities for career and temporary overseas employment

DISCOVER WHAT'S WAITING FOR YOU IN THE WORLD—AND HOW TO GET IT NOW!

YES! Connect me to **HOTLINE** information on current internatonal employment opportunities every month. Send me:
☐ **(US) $26.00 One year subscription**
☐ **(US) $18.00 Six month subscription.**
☐ **(US) $13.50 Three month trial subscription**
Enclosed $ _____ ☐ **Check** ☐ **Money Order**
Name _____
Address _____
City _____ **State** _____ **Zip** _____

Include (US) $8.00 for subscriptions outside U.S. and Canada. Send with payment to: **International Employment Hotline.** P.O. Box 617H, McLean, VA 22106.

REAGAN: "B" ACTOR, "A" PRESIDENT? Best-seller by Ed Scofield, America's foremost causologist/visionary. Shows how bureaucratic bungling threatens your job, assets, life, happiness. Protect yourself! Send $12, receive autographed Reagan expose plus FREE $10.95 value informative cassette, "Our Brainwashed Society." SR-1, Box 730-NR, Anza, CA 92306.

LET ME DIE BEFORE I WAKE
By Derek Humphry (author of Jean's Way)

Unique guide to self-deliverance for dying persons $11 p/p. Membership (incls. newsletter) $15. Nonprofit.
Hemlock Society, P.O. Box 66218
Los Angeles, CA 90066. Phone (213) 391-1871

Services

HANDWRITING ANALYSIS BY A GRADUATE OF THE GRAPHOLOGY WORKSHOP, New School for Social Research, $25. Mary L. Orloff, 1540 York Avenue, New York, NY 10028.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BERLIN DIARIST

Steinstücken

METAPHORS ARE a way of life in West Berlin. My standard postcard home opens with greetings from "this island of liberty amidst a sea of oppression." A more lighthearted message might run, "Frolicking in a sandbox of democracy surrounded by the run-down playground of communism." On a rainy day: "I feel the tug of the autocratic rope around my freedom-loving neck." I'm especially aware of the noose effect as I hop in the car and make the half-hour trip to the suburban enclave of Steinstücken, which by the vagaries of military cartographers fell under American rule after the war. Until 1976, Steinstücken was unconnected to the rest of West Berlin, a tiny island less than half a mile in diameter, piercing those black waters, really not much larger than a sandbox. Now it's tied to the city by a few hundred yards of two-lane highway, closed in on both sides by (surprise) ten feet of concrete. In Steinstücken itself, residents don't seem to pay much attention to the Wall; for most of them, it's the back fence. Judging from the number of East German watchtowers overlooking the enclave, though, you'd think that this might be the launching point for a NATO invasion.

STEINSTÜCKEN IS only my favorite place to Wall-walk. The most famous stretch of the famous barrier threads the old Reichstag and the Brandenburger Tor, monuments to Germany's past pretensions. Here seamless concrete slabs topped by concrete pylons make the Wall; it is ordinarily splattered with spray-painted slogans imploring peace and reconciliation, or kindly reminding us of the nasty Other Side. ("DDR = Deutsches Dreck Republik"—the German Republic of Trash—reads one.) For special occasions, like when American Presidents come calling, the East Germans have developed a contraption that reaches over and whitewashes the Wall's Western face. They are, after all, responsible for maintenance. As one leaves the tourist areas, the Wall becomes more startling if only because ordinary life bustles right in its shadow. Take a wrong turn in working-class Wedding or Kreuzberg and you'll meet an imposing dead end. Elsewhere, the Wall isn't a wall at all. In the Spandau Forest, a chain-link fence, albeit well patrolled, contains what the playground keepers refer to as evil Western influences.

THIS IS ONE of the few places in the world where my diplomatic passport (which I hold by virtue of my mother's talents, not my own) really comes in handy. I don't have to buy a five-mark day visa or exchange twenty-five more into East German marks at an economically ludicrous one-to-one rate every time I want to do some snooping. With the passport, crossing at Checkpoint Charlie becomes about as easy as getting into Disneyland. The border guard takes down my name. He smiles, waves, and buzzes the grey metal door. The first few times I was awestruck by the symbolism of walking those few feet. It has since become pretty routine. Now I make the trip with friends who haven't crossed before. One, the son of a Watergate convict, said it was like visiting his father in prison. Another couldn't believe that pregnant East German women aren't able to come over and have their babies on free soil.

IN THE EAST, one is overpowered by the scars of war. Many outright ruins still stand, small trees growing out of second-story windows or gaping ceilings. The façades of most structures, many in use, remain chipped and pockmarked with bullet holes. This is a marked contrast to West Berlin, where we clearly did more bulldozing, or, failing that, used a lot more plaster in concealing a building's past. East Berlin, where the history is much more tangible, is a far more interesting area in which to wander. One glimpses the cultural blossom of the Weimar spring, the nightmare of 1945. And then the facts of everyday communist life. Air pollution is so bad that one gets tipsy walking down the streets during rush hour. There are shopping lines, though nowhere near as long as they are reported to be in Moscow. The variety of foodstuffs and basic consumer goods is clearly limited, but retailers tend to develop huge surpluses of certain items—currently they all seem to have can mountains of Chinese mandarin oranges. In the foreign currency "Intershops," anyone can buy a variety of Western goods, from a "Best of Kojak" record to a Black & Decker chainsaw—provided, of course, that the buyer has West German marks or special government coupons. And one can't help but notice a strong inclination toward Western culture in general. Even the likes of '60s hard-rock hero Jimi Hendrix (hardly a model for the ideal communist youth) can be heard on the radio and bought in the store. Bands with names like "Country and Co." play at discos. East German TV will even screen an occasional American movie (a Paul Newman detective film, for instance). All this somewhat heartens the American visitor.

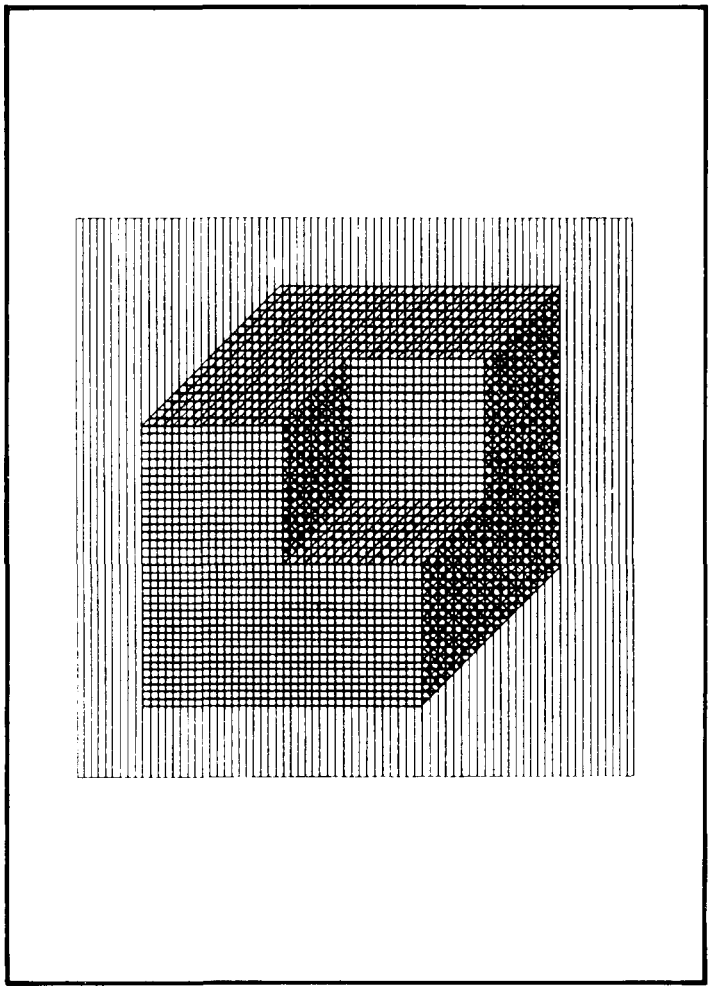
BUT IF THE East Berliners are enamored of our luxuries and our stars, they don't particularly care for our politics. Where Americans might expect pronouncements on the virtues of laundry detergent, huge wall posters in the walls of the Alexanderplatz subway stop shrilly decry the devil West. One, a photo of a baby in its carriage artfully interrupted by a stark X and an underline, WE WANT TO LIVE, MR. REAGAN. Another, a simple NATO = DEATH in three-foot-high letters. Everywhere missiles with U.S. markings. Just as the average American believes that even though the TV commercials for Tide and Cheer exaggerate, the stuff really does get your clothes fairly clean, so too the average East German undoubtedly believes the essential drift of these billboard messages. In West Berlin, where U.S. Armed Forces Radio is by far the most popular station, one sees banners almost as critical.

BACK IN Steinstücken, there is a little overgrown field. In one corner I see two flattened and slightly curved poles, rising like walrus teeth above long, grass whiskers. I discover these are two blades from an American army helicopter, a forgotten memorial to the daily sorties that kept Steinstücken supplied in island days. I am moved, but with pride or resignation? Does Steinstücken need us any longer? I throw a stone across the Wall, thinking to detonate a mine.

PETER SPIRO

Peter Spiro is a former TNR reporter-researcher.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



SOL LEWITT

A LIMITED EDITION OF *FICCIONES* BY
JORGE LUIS BORGES • SIZE 8″ x 8″ • SET IN LINOTYPE
CLOISTER BOLD • PRINTED LETTERPRESS • BOUND IN
BLACK ANILINE LEATHER • 22 ORIGINAL BLACK & WHITE
SILK SCREENS PRINTED IN FOUR PASSES ON SOMERSET
SATIN AT THE STUDIO OF JO WATANABE • SLIPCASED •
EDITION 1500 COPIES • SIGNED BY THE ARTIST •

PRICE $400

THE LIMITED EDITIONS CLUB

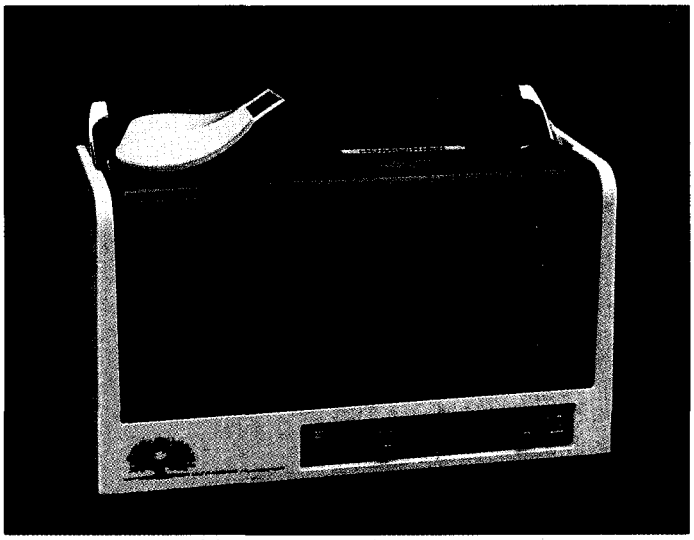
551 FIFTH AVENUE • NEW YORK CITY 10017

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

TOOLS FOR LIVING®

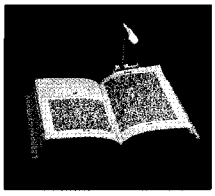
A COLLECTION OF FIRST CLASS CONTEMPORARY MAILORDER PRODUCTS

ULTRA-HUMIDIFIER



Here is a new approach to humidifying that is so revolutionary and inventive that it makes all other home humidifers obsolete. It's the ultra-sonic humidifier. We discovered it last fall in Japan and during home use last winter found its performance to be truly outstanding. It uses extremely high frequency sound waves to break up water into a fine mist that carries and diffuses exceptionally well. One tabletop unit can humidify an entire 1500 sq. ft. apartment or house. It is also ultra-safe — the vapor stream is cold (even though it looks like hot steam (so it is impossible to get a burn. It is ultra-quiet — virtually noiseless, unlike conventional humidifiers. It is ultra-portable — measures only 14" x 6" x 9", weighs under 12 lbs. and has a convenient carry handle. The removable reservoir holds one gallon of water, refillable at any sink and runs for 10-12 hours on a filling. This humidifier by Bionaire has a humidstat control (low, medium or high) and shuts off automatically when it reaches the desired humidity level. Emitting nozzle swivels 360° and the unit shuts off automatically when empty or tipped over. Cost is just **$149.00** ($10.95) #A888.

BOOKLIGHT

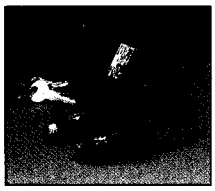


Here's a new tool that will brighten the life of any book-reader. It is a light that clips right on the book or magazine you are reading, flooding the open pages with a cool strong light ideal for reading. The light weighs just a bit over 2 oz. and is attentively crafted with two swivel joints and a special distortion-free lead crystal optical bulb. The Booklight comes with a battery pack (batteries not included), AC adapter, 8' cord and spare bulb all neatly packaged in a box that looks like a book. **$29.00** ($3.95) #A685.

REINVENTING THE CHAIR

Conventional seating positions the body so the angle between torso and legs is 90° or less. This posture tilts the spine forward, puts pressure on the lower back, and cramps breathing and circulation. The Cloud Chair represents an entirely new concept of seating developed in cooperation with doctors and physical therapists. It redistributes body weight using the knees and lower legs so the back and upper body automatically straighten and find a relaxed position of perfect balance. The chair frame is oak laminate shaped by a "bentwood" process. The seat and knee rest are padded and upholstered in a neutral brown color. The chair positions you at the exact same height as a regular office or table chair and has been used successfully in homes and offices by people 4'6" to 6'9". It will improve your comfort, posture and the back strain associated with long periods of sitting in conventional chairs. **$90.00** ($9.95) #A925.

EASY CHARGE



How would you like to recharge your car battery without ever opening the hood? Sound impossible? It's not, thanks to the Easy Charge. With traditional jumper cables you have to maneuver a second car fender-to-fender with the disabled car, open both hoods, and attach leads from battery to battery. The Easy Charge simplifies this process brilliantly by substituting connection from cigarette lighter to cigarette lighter. Just plug one end into the lighter of a running car, pass the 16' cord through both car windows and insert the other end in the lighter of the disabled car. After a few minutes' wait the battery is recharged sufficiently to restart the car. The Easy Charge costs **$20.00** ($2.95) #A629. Two for **$37.00** ($3.95) #A6292.

DANISH BOOKBAG

This oversize bag is an overwhelming success with photographers, artists, students, musicians, dancers, opera singers, nuns, poets, duck hunters, cyclists, plumbers, teachers, reporters and travelers...because it's a versatile labyrinth of roomy pockets. Its real name is the Danish Bookbag. It's been called the best device for carrying things ever invented. Made of waterproof canvas that wears like iron, the bookbag has an unusual zipper design that enables the bag to expand to double its normal width — to a full 8 inches — so there's always a place to stuff one more thing. It also has two outer pockets in front and a large back pocket. An adjustable 2" wide strap makes the burden easier. Choose grey #A483, brown #A484, blue #A569, black #A564 or red #A568. **$59.00** ($3.95).

ORDERING INSTRUCTIONS AND GUARANTEE: *We ship via United Parcel Service wherever possible to insure prompt delivery. The price of each item is shown followed by its shipping and handling charges in ( ). Be sure to add the item price* ***plus*** *shipping and handling charges for each item ordered to arrive at the* ***total price*** *of each item. If you are not satisfied for any reason, return the article to us within 30 days, and we'll exchange it or refund the cost, per your instructions.*

TOOLS FOR LIVING — **FOR FASTEST SERVICE ON CREDIT CARD ORDERS PHONE OUR 24-HOUR TOLL-FREE NUMBER:**

DEPT. NRP23; 400 S. DEAN ST.; ENGLEWOOD, NJ 07631 **800-228-5505.** In Nebraska call 800-624-9900.

SEND TO (PLEASE PRINT)	ITEM NO.	QUANTITY	DESCRIPTION/COLOR	ITEM PRICE	SHPG. & HNDLG.	TOTAL PRICE
ADDRESS						
CITY STATE ZIP						
ENCLOSED IS A CHECK OR MONEY ORDER FOR $ PAYABLE TO **TOOLS FOR LIVING.**						
☐ MASTERCARD ☐ VISA ☐ AM. EXPRESS EXP. DATE			ENCLOSED IS $1.00 FOR YOUR NEW **TOOLS FOR LIVING** CATALOG.			
ACCOUNT # SIGNATURE					TOTAL AMOUNT	

(Sorry, we cannot handle Canadian, foreign or C.O.D. orders.) Please allow 30 days for delivery from our receipt of your order.

© ISP, Inc.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED